



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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26 May 1992

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Chad

New Cabinet Named, Includes Opposition Figures

AB2305091592 Paris AFP in French 0824 GMT
23 May 92

[Text] The new Chadian prime minister, Mr. Joseph Yodoyman, published last night the list of his government which is marked by the entry of several opposition personalities and the departure of eight ministers in the ruling Patriotic Salvation Movement, MPS, according to official sources.

The new government comprises 26 members (ministers and secretaries of state and of government) as opposed to the 31 in former government which was formed on 12 December 1991.

Among the new ministers are Mr. Mahamat Ali Adoum, who will be in charge of foreign affairs; Mr. Koibla Djimasta for the interior; Dr. Djimet Ibi for humanitarian actions; Mr. Mohyadinne Salah for finance; Dr. Mounkar Fidle for national education, and Mr. Saleh Maki for posts and telecommunications.

Five ministers represent opposition political parties: They are Mr. Nabia Ndali of the National Alliance for Democracy and Development (ANT to which the Prime Minister Yodoyman is close); Mr. Djimasta Koibla of the Union for Democracy and the Republic (UDR, of former Prime Minister Jean Alingue Bawoyeu); Mr. Saleh Maki of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF); Mr. Jeremie Toira of the Rally of the Chadian People (RPT), and Mounkar Fidle of the Action for Unity and Socialism (ACTUS).

The MPS party members remaining in the government are Mr. Abbas Koti (Public Works) and Nadjita Beasoumal (Defense). MPS members leaving the government are Mr. Ahmat Hassaballah Soubiane (Interior); Mahamat Saleh Ahmat (Foreign Affairs); Ahmat Soungui (Information), Manasse Nguealbaye (Finance).

The new minister of information is the former minister of Post and Telecommunications, Mr. Djidi Bichara. One woman, Mrs. Julienne Djonkito, enters the government as secretary of state for public health, while the only woman of the former team, Mrs. Mariam Mahamat Nour (secretary of state for finance), is leaving the government.

Rwanda

Foreign Minister Wants 'Direct' Talks With Rebels

LD2305164892 Paris Radio France International
in French 0630 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] In Rwanda, as you know, there is civil war in the east. Uganda is along its border and often serves as a rear base or a sanctuary for the rebels. This is why consultations beginning today between the Rwandan foreign minister and his Ugandan counterpart may assume a

certain importance. The new government in Kigali is counting on Uganda's contribution to negotiate with the Rwandan Patriotic Front [FPR], the rebel organization. Rwandan Foreign Minister Boniface Ngulinzira, moreover, would prefer direct negotiations with the FPR to possible international or regional mediation:

[Begin Ngulinzira recording] The Rwandan Government has opted for the principle of direct negotiations. In other words, generally speaking, mediation has the effect of crystallizing positions, and if mediation is viewed as the obligatory channel of communication then the Rwandan Government does not agree with such mediation. Of course, in the event of conflict the parties to the conflict cannot resolve this conflict on their own. It is necessary for observers, for all who wish to promote the peace process, to be able to guide this process and it is within this framework that the intervention by friendly countries, France, the United States, and other countries of the international community, falls. [end recording]

Views Uganda Trip

EA2405220092 Kigali Radiodiffusion Nationale de la
Republique Rwandaise in French 1800 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] The minister of foreign affairs and the delegation accompanying him returned to Kigali this afternoon after a three-day official visit to Uganda. Minister Ngulinzira tells us about the visit.

[Begin recording] [Ngulinzira] It was a working visit intended to promote the normalization of our relations with Uganda. During the visit, I held talks with his excellency the second deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Uganda. I also had an opportunity to be received by his excellency the president of Uganda, Yoweri Museveni.

My talks with the Ugandan authorities were based on four themes: mutual border security, the resumption of exchanges and relations between our two countries, the search for a lasting solution to the problem of Rwandan refugees, and the search for a negotiated solution to the conflict with the Rwandan Patriotic Front [FPR]. The discussions I held with the Ugandan authorities were marked by the concern of the two parties to normalize their relations and to work for a negotiated solution to the conflict between us and the FPR. Regarding security, Rwanda and Uganda agreed to prepare and sign a cooperation or nonaggression agreement. It came out that Uganda had signed such an agreement with its northern neighbor, Sudan. The two parties, moreover, agreed that it is through the path of dialogue and consultation that they will strive to resolve all problems which may arise in their relations. It is in this framework that we agreed to organize a foreign ministers meeting in Paris to study the report of the French observer mission on border violations. The meeting should take place in Paris before 19 June.

On the subject of exchange and cooperation, we accepted the principle of relaunching exchanges such as reopening the northern corridor road in full security. We also agreed to relaunch the regular border authority meetings.

Concerning the definitive solution to the problem of Rwandan refugees, the two parties reaffirmed their adherence to the commitments of the Dar es Salaam Declaration, which as you know puts forward three options: voluntary repatriation, resettlement in host countries, and naturalization.

The actions to be carried out in the three areas, that is security, cooperation and exchange, and the refugee problem will be the object of a meeting to be held in Kigali within 15 days. The meeting should draft a document to be submitted for study and adoption at the ministerial level.

Concerning the conflict with the FPR, Uganda reiterated its readiness to use its good offices to contact the two parties in conflict in the search for a negotiated solution. Uganda offered its mediation to the preceding government, and it had been agreed that a meeting could be held in this framework in March. The meeting was postponed because of the pending formation of the new government. Uganda agreed to favor direct negotiations between the Rwandan Government and the FPR and welcomed the principle that the two parties—our government and the FPR—should jointly determine those who are to facilitate or attend the direct talks.

[Unidentified reporter] Your visit was expected to last two days, but you stayed there for three.

[Ngulinzira] I spent three days following a consultation that I had with the prime minister. First of all, President Museveni expressed the wish that we have a second meeting and that was enough to justify my remaining longer in Uganda. In addition, a meeting with the FPR had been planned which had not taken place during the first two days. [end recording]

Minister Ngulinzira at last was able to meet a representative of the FPR. On what were their talks based? Here again is Minister Ngulinzira.

[Begin recording] [Ngulinzira] Yes, this morning I met in Entebbe Mr. Patrick Mazimpaka who is the FPR commissioner for diplomatic affairs. He is the one in charge of relations for the FPR. We held a fruitful meeting, the results of which I would like to present to you: We agreed

to ask France to host a meeting between the Rwandan Government and the FPR in the near future, probably from 5 to 7 June in Paris.

The meeting should study procedural questions such as the role of the mediating countries, be they neighbors or Western countries, and the role of the international organizations such as the OAU and the UN, taking into account [words indistinct] which we agree: direct negotiations between the FPR and Rwanda. The procedural question should make it possible for friendly countries to understand the new approach that we shall follow and to ask them for their willingness to back the negotiations.

Second, the venue or venues for the negotiations should be decided.

Third, the meeting should study procedures for implementing the cease-fire. In fact it came out during the meeting that the FPR and the Rwandan Government want the first phase of negotiations to be about effective cease-fire implementation. We shall draw up the list of political questions which should be subject of negotiation after the cessation of hostilities.

Finally, we should set up a timetable of meetings for the negotiations. The talks allowed us to exchange addresses as up to now we had communication difficulties.

We asked the Ugandan Government to back the meeting. We also asked for U.S. mediation, and I would hereby like to express our thanks to the United States, which facilitated the meeting, and also Uganda, which made possible the meeting between myself and the FPR.

[Reporter] In the light of your meeting with Mr. Mazimpaka, can we hope for the end of the war in the near future?

[Ngulinzira] I am very confident, and this confidence is based on the meetings I had with the Ugandan authorities, as well as the first meeting I had this morning with Mr. Mazimpaka. Naturally, you should know that the negotiation of peace will be laborious and will need a real commitment from all parties, and the adherence of all strata of the population, of all components of the Rwandan population, to the propositions which could be put forward in the framework of the search for a negotiated solution. What I found was a real will on the Ugandan side as well as the FPR side. At the Rwandan level we have already shown the will to see the end of the conflict. I think that June will be paramount in that perspective. You should wait and see but I think that, from my view, things look positive. [end recording]

Kenya

President Says Opposition Spreads Rumors, Fear

EA2505173592 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said the government will deal firmly with opposition leaders who are spreading rumors with a view of creating fear among Kenyans. He said it had become the trend of some of the opposition leaders to tell blatant lies and rumors that could lead to destruction of life and property. The president said he was aware that what the opposition aimed at was to blame the government for such destruction. He cited the recent incidents in Nyan-darua where opposition leaders had claimed that some pupils and teachers had been killed by Kalenjin warriors.

President Moi said such rumors had even led to loss of lives of innocent Kenyans and destruction of property.

The president was addressing thousands of citizens who turned up to greet him at various centers while on his way to Nanyuki for a public rally. [passage omitted]

He noted that the nation cannot be built on a culture of rumors and defiance, and urged Kenyans to weigh carefully some of the information they receive before acting on them.

President Moi said even some of the land clashes that occurred in Molo and Sondu were sparked off by rumors engineered by the opposition. The president said it was now clear that the aim of the opposition was to create hatred between the Kikuyus and the Kalenjins.

President Moi said he was committed to the unity of all Kenyans and will not tolerate activities that were aimed at dividing them. He said it was unfortunate that the opposition were organizing private armies, adding that what KANU [Kenya African National Union] and Kenyans needed was security which is already being provided by the government.

Somali Forces Attack Border Town; One Killed

EA2405162592 Nairobi KNA in English 1445 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Mandera, 24 May (KNA)—The United Somali Congress, USC, forces in six armoured vehicles crossed over to Kenya and attacked El Wak town [about 80 miles south of Mandera, on the Somali border] yesterday at noon leaving one person dead and two civilians slightly injured. The USC forces suffered several casualties as they exchanged fire with Kenya security personnel. One of the Kenyan victims was pronounced dead at El Wak Hospital due to severe bleeding.

While retreating, the USC forces met with a Kenya lorry at borehole 11 loaded with UHT milk and other food stuff with twenty people on board and commandeered it to Bulahachi [as received] in Somalia. Later the lorry

passengers were all released but no information has reached KNA regarding the fate of the lorry and the goods.

Talking to KNA in Mandera town, the Mandera District Commissioner [DC] Mr. Eliud Ole Pasankul confirmed the incident. He said he had issued a protest note to USC leader, General Aidid, condemning the El Wak attack.

In his protest note the DC cautioned the USC to take seriously Kenya's and Somalia's deliberations regarding the two countries' security. The DC also warned El Wak residents to stop the habit of leaving their homes while the security situation in the area was fluid.

The DC regretted that 2,100 x 50 kg each bag of rice disappeared from the Red Cross stores during the attacks. [sentence as received] It is not yet established whether it was the USC or the civilians who looted the stores. The situation at El Wak was now reported normal and under control.

Further Report

EA2405201092 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1800 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Tension gripped parts of Mandera District of northeastern Kenya following yesterday's attack on El Wak division by soldiers of the United Somali Congress, the USC. A driver with the Kenya Power and Lighting Company in El Wak was killed in what reports say was the result of a bomb explosion ignited by the USC soldiers. Two others were reported hurt in the attack that followed a looting spree. A resident in the area who called KTN reported three vehicles stolen. The soldiers were reported to have been in a convoy of Somali military vehicles.

Unconfirmed reports say that a small surveillance aircraft from Kenya security personnel was shot at by the soldiers. They left the area after the attack but Kenyan Administration officials were reported to be seeking talks with the USC today. And another driver of Hanif Mohammed Transporters was shot at three times when armed bandits invaded a convoy of trucks carrying relief aid to famine-stricken Northeastern Province. The driver was taken to Garissa Hospital with leg, hand, and stomach wounds following the attack on the Mado Gashi-Isiolo Road.

Official's Car Burned, 2 Killed in Mombasa Riot

EA2505174092 Nairobi KNA in English 1412 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Mombasa, 25 May (KNA)—A car suspected to be owned by an assistant minister for information and broadcasting, Mr Sharif Nassir, was this afternoon set ablaze by a group of rioting Muslim youths at his Jubilee House car park along Moi Avenue, Mombasa.

The group which was said to have come from the Mombasa law courts early in the morning marched

through Nkrumah Road to Moi Avenue chanting anti-Nassir slogans and on arrival at the Jubilee building where the assistant minister also resides, identified the car, a Toyota Corolla KZH 659, and set it on fire.

Earlier a Muslim member who was arrested last week, Sheikh Khalid Balala, was set free by a Mombasa court. He was carried shoulder high by the youths shouting IPK [Islamic Party of Kenya].

Mr Nassir who at that time was attending a meeting for all coast members of parliament chaired by the Provincial Commissioner Mr Mbuo Waganagwa at his boardroom when informed about the incident, said that he will deal with the matter later.

Along the busy Moi Avenue business and offices were hurriedly closed as wananchi [citizens] streamed into the streets looking for the available transport home. When the KNA arrived at the Jubilee House Mombasa Fire Brigade had already put out the fire. There was panic and confusion in the Mombasa streets as word passed round the town that a riot had started at Majengo area in Mvita constituency.

A KNA survey revealed that most of the rioters were school children below the age of 18 years. Some of the fleeing wananchi were heard saying that some of the kids should be at school instead of being misused in taking part in the riot.

[Nairobi KTN Television in English at 1600 GMT on 25 May adds that the riots in Mombasa left two dead. "The two people who died today were shot by security personnel as they joined in demonstrations, shouted Islamic slogans when they confronted heavily armed security personnel along the Abdennasser Road. A police source said that the two who were shot dead were victims of stray bullets."

["And in a separate incident, five aides of Sharif Nassir were severely burnt and rushed to hospital after a Toyota Landcruiser they were traveling in overturned at the Makupa traffic lights and caught fire."]

Party Condemns 'Confrontation'

*EA2505195592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 25 May 92*

[Text] Officials of the Islamic Party of Kenya today condemned the latest confrontation between the police and demonstrators. The party in a statement said that police had unnecessarily provoked peaceful demonstrators who were celebrating the release of the Muslim preacher who was arrested last week. They also alleged that a leading Mombasa politician had vowed that he would use all powers at his disposal to distract activities of the unregistered party.

Muslim Group Issues Warning on Attacks on Mosques

*EA2205220592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] The Muslim community today continued to condemn the storming of their holy places of worship, with the Nairobi Muslim Organization warning that Muslims are capable of retaliation in defense of their religious rights. In a statement today, the chairman of the organization, (Faisal Guhad), said violence in mosques is prohibited and a direct provocation. The organization has demanded an apology from the government.

FORD Names Figures Involved in 'Private Army'

*EA2305122092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
0500 GMT 23 May 92*

[From the press review]

[Text] DAILY NATION also in a front-page story report states that FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] yesterday countered a government statement issued on Wednesday [20 May] by naming 11 prominent personalities it claimed were involved in the private army said to be active in the politically motivated clashes in the country. Top on the list was Vice President George Saitoti and hot on his heels was [former Industry Minister] Nicholas Biwott, William Ole Ntimama [minister of local government], and John Cheruiyot [minister of cooperative development], among others.

Vice President Denies Claim

*EA2305152592 Nairobi KNA in English 0952 GMT
23 May 92*

[Text] Nairobi, 23 May (KNA)—The vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti, has denied allegations by the opposition Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD) that he was involved in the setting up of a private army in the Maasai Mara game reserve.

Prof. Saitoti said that he did not know of the existence of any private army and that the Constitution did not have [any] provision for the setting up of such an army. "The existence of such an army is imaginary since if it existed it would be tantamount to treason," said the vice president. The vice president, who was addressing a press conference in his office today, hoped that those who made the allegations would be arraigned in court so that they could physically show Kenyans where the alleged training camps were. He said that it was unthinkable that the leadership of this country would embark on acts of treason.

Terming the allegations, which were published in a local daily today, as "lies", the vice president said that only minds of doubtful sanity would issue such statements. He said that those who issued the statement had evil motives.

Prof. Saitoti reiterated his commitment to the pursuit of peaceful means in the political transformation of the country. Saying that he has always been committed to democracy, the vice president emphasized that he abhorred the use of violence for political gains.

The vice president lamented that Kenyans were being confronted by dangerous people in the guise of political opposition. He called on Kenyans to shun such political parties which "no longer believe in the use of the ballot box to change the political leadership of the country. [no end quotation marks as received]

The allegations by the interim chairman of the FORD, Mr. Oginga Odinga, claimed that the vice president and a group of other people were recruiting young men at a camp in the Maasai Mara game reserve with the purpose of deploying them in the tribal clashes zones.

Ex-Minister Comments

EA2505121592 Nairobi KTN Television in English
0345 GMT 25 May 92

[From the press review]

[Text] Former Cabinet Minister Nicholas Biwott yesterday said he neither owns nor operates a private army of, quote, Kalenjin warriors, unquote, which is allegedly behind the tribal clashes that have ravaged some parts of the country. This is the story under the KENYA TIMES banner headlines. Both THE STANDARD and the DAILY NATION have highlighted the story on the front and inside pages, respectively.

Attorney General Orders Probe

EA2405122092 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1000 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The attorney general, Amos Wako, today asked the commissioner of police, Philip Kilonzo, to question and take statements from the persons who issued yesterday's FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] statement and all the people mentioned in the statement. He has also ordered the police boss to investigate all the allegations contained in the FORD press release and to intensify the investigations with a view to finding sufficient evidence against any person who was and/or is involved in the planning and/or perpetuating [of] inter-ethnic conflicts.

Wako has also asked Kilonzo to investigate police action relating to the arrest of seven Islamic preachers in Mombasa and the storming of the Mombasa mosque last Wednesday [20 May]. The attorney general, in a statement, said that all those found to have violated the law would be prosecuted irrespective of their status in society.

Somalia

USC Forces Occupy Ceel Waaq Without Resistance

EA2305221092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1700 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Reports reaching us from Gedo Administrative Division say that on 23 May at 1200, United Somali Congress [USC] fighters captured the Ceel Waaq area [near the Kenyan border] where some units of Siad Barre's remnants had been hiding. They left behind a lot of weapons and provisions. We received this report from the journalist accompanying the fighters, Hassan Sheikh Ade, who also said that the USC, which has been carrying out mopping-up operations in Bay, Bakool, and southern Gedo did not come across any Siad forces when they took the area. He also said that USC officials and fighters are busy returning refugees, while others are occupied with ensuring and stabilizing peace.

USC Says Moi Helping Siad Through Troop Buildup

EA2505200092 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali
1700 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] A spokesman for the United Somali Congress [USC], Southern Somali National Movement [SSNM], Somali Patriotic Front [SPM], and Somali Democratic Movement [SDM] has said after the Somali Liberation Army [SLA]—which is composed of the above organizations—had liberated Gedo and Bay regions, two letters were sent to the Kenyan Government through the northeastern provincial commissioner requesting the repatriation of national assets taken by the remnants of Siad Barre's soldiers. The spokesman added that in the same vein a request had been made to the effect that criminals who had fled to Kenya should be repatriated to Somalia, and that the USC was ready to establish relations and cooperation with Kenya. The Kenyan Government had not yet replied to this request.

The spokesman went on to say that Daniel arap Moi, the Kenyan president, had ordered huge forces to be deployed along the border in places such as El-Wak in order to launch attacks on the SLA, which had liberated Somali regions bordering Kenya. These deployed forces are led by General Mohamed Hussein, a commander in the Kenya Armed Forces, said the spokesman, adding that this is clear evidence that Kenya had been providing Siad Barre's remnants with arms, fuel, bullets, and rations, especially during the bloodsuckers' attempt to attack Mogadishu.

The spokesman further added that the five organizations—USC, SPM, SSNM, SDM, and Somali National Movement—were ready to defend their [word indistinct] struggle and the Somali people's rights and dignity.

The righteous fighters congratulate the Kenyan people and the opposition leaders in that country for clearly

supporting the (?objectives) of the righteous fighters and for their stand regarding the bloodsucker Siad Barre, concluded the spokesman.

Uganda

Foreign Minister Welcomes Rwandan New 'Attitude'

EA2305222592 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1000 GMT 23 May 92

[Excerpt] The second deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Paul Ssemogerere, has welcomed a change of attitude of the Rwandese Government to seek honestly and in a resolute way a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the central African country which, he observed, has affected both Rwanda and Uganda. He said Uganda is encouraged that there is a new chapter in Kigali of leadership dedicated and serious about finding lasting peace in Rwanda. Mr. Ssemogerere was hosting the visiting Rwandese foreign minister, Mr. Boniface Ngulinzira, to a dinner at the Nile Hotel in Kampala.

He said there may be some difficulties in the early stages to solve the problem but encouraged the Rwandese Government to persevere and count on Uganda's support. Mr. Ssemogerere appealed to Rwanda's Government to avoid an exchange of (?savage) words but to resort to frank discussions without waiting for the international community to end the conflict in their country.

He said Uganda and Rwanda have much in common historically and in actual relationship under which the people of the two countries have intermingled in marriages and have carried out trade as if no frontiers exist. He said this cooperation is good for Africa since we believe that many of the borders were externally imposed on us. Mr. Ssemogerere emphasized that the unity of the people of Africa is a necessity to ensure free mobility of the people and to promote interstate trade. He therefore observed that Uganda and Rwanda can make a big contribution to achieve that goal by promoting peace in the region.

The minister said the refugees' problems, which has caused misunderstanding between Uganda and Rwanda, should be solved through the Dar es Salaam Declaration of 1991 and was encouraged by the attitude of Rwanda to welcome back the refugees.

The Rwandese foreign minister, Mr. Ngulinzira, replied that his visit is a token of the Rwanda Government's concern to establish the spirit of dialogue in order to create lasting peace and good political atmosphere in the region. He reiterated that the peoples of the two countries have historical and blood bonds which no time and action can undo and the visit therefore aims to reaffirm that reality.

Mr. Ngulinzira said the leaders of the two countries have now the duty to undertake to normalize relations and take concrete action in translating the political will which the two countries have been voicing over time. He said the new atmosphere of confidence should be promoted to keep peace and tranquillity at the common border and establish cooperation in the interest of the people of the two countries. [passage omitted]

Sudanese Planes Bomb Northern Area in Error

AB2305211592 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1700 GMT 23 May 92

[Excerpt] The Sudan has expressed deep regret about the recent bombing of Moyo in northern Uganda by Sudanese planes and said the incident was due to an error and not any way intentional.

The regret was expressed by the Sudanese special envoy, who is also the foreign minister, Dr. 'Ali Ahmad Sahlul, when delivering a special message from President Hasan al-Bashir of Sudan to President Yoweri Museveni. The ceremony took place at State House, Entebbe today. Mr. Sahlul said his government is ready to compensate any loss incurred during not only the latest incident but also (?places bombed) in the area by Sudanese planes for which the Sudanese government accepted responsibility.

The president and minister agreed to ensure closer cooperation between Uganda and Sudan along the common border so that such tragic mistakes can be avoided. [passage omitted]

ANC Says Mandela Remarks on de Klerk 'Distorted'

*MB2305064792 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
0500 GMT 23 May 92*

[Text] The poor command of English of a Finnish journalist has apparently led to one of the biggest misunderstandings between the ANC [African National Congress] and the government. The ANC has strongly denied that its president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, accused President F.W. de Klerk in Helsinki of being responsible for political violence and murders in South Africa.

The secretary general of the National Party, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, and the minister of justice, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, expressed shock and indignation at a report received last night. Dr. van der Merwe said that if it was true that such accusations had been made by the ANC president, it could only be regarded as a flagrant violation of the National Peace Accord and a total disregard of the truth.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus told the news agency SAPA in the Finnish capital, that a local journalist had distorted Mr. Mandela's words. The report quoted Mr. Mandela as saying that it was a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of fueling violence and killing innocent people. Miss Marcus said that Mr. Mandela had given examples of where he had personally spoken to President de Klerk on the causes of violence, such as traditional weapons and the hostel issue. He emphasized that the responsibility of such acts and omissions that furthered violence should be laid squarely at the door of the office of the state president, and not at the feet of the man.

In his reaction to the initial report Mr. Coetsee referred to steps taken by President de Klerk to eradicate malpractices among security forces and said that the ANC should rather accept responsibility for criminal elements in its own ranks.

ANC Statement

*MB2305124792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1218 GMT 23 May 92*

[SAPA PR wire service issued by the African National Congress: "ANC [African National Congress] Press Statement on the Departure of Nelson Mandela and His Delegation From the Nordic Countries Helsinki - 23 May, 1992"]

[Text] Nelson Mandela was afforded the rare opportunity of visiting places of cultural and historic interest, including the Mannerheim Museum and the Sibelius Monument, on the last morning of his visit to the Nordic countries.

While in Finland Mr. Mandela held warm and fruitful discussions with the foreign minister, the president and the prime minister, Mr. Esko Aho. These meetings culminated in a tumultuous welcome concert, with performances by some of Finland's leading artists. Host for the evening was the director of the Bank of Finland, Mr. Kalevi Sorsa.

Throughout the visit to Norway, Sweden and Finland great interest was expressed in the developments surrounding

Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] II and the reasons for its failure to achieve the expected breakthrough. In all meetings, whether with government officials, businessmen and non-governmental organisations, questions were asked and grave concern expressed about the ongoing violence. Nelson Mandela stated that as State President Mr. de Klerk had to assume responsibility for the tragic loss of life and destabilisation of the whole transition process.

Mr. Mandela reiterated his appeal for international monitoring teams to investigate both the violence and the negotiation process. All the Nordic countries expressed keen interest in finding ways to respond to his request.

Nelson Mandela left Helsinki for Geneva, where he will hold discussions with the Swiss foreign minister, the UNHCR and the IOC [International Olympic Committee]. He will proceed to Prague, where he is the keynote speaker at the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers Conference. Issued by: the Department of Information and Publicity Gill Marcus P O Box 61884, Marshalltown 2107, Johannesburg

Coetsee Notes 'Shock'

*MB2305191892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1903 GMT 23 May 92*

[Text] Cape Town May 23 SAPA—The question could rightly be asked whether the African National Congress [ANC] was not busy creating a climate to destroy everything achieved (at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa]) so far. Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in a statement in Cape Town.

He was reacting to a news conference held by Mr Nelson Mandela in Helsinki on Friday at which the ANC leader reportedly said State President de Klerk was personally behind political violence and deaths in South Africa.

He said the government had learnt with "shock and disappointment" that Mr Mandela still made use of attacks on Mr de Klerk on the basis of "unproven and unjustified allegations".

"The fact is that Mr de Klerk is taking a strong lead to have any misunderstandings and misconceptions by members of the South African security forces who exceed their powers and get involved in criminal actions, prosecuted by state machinery.

"Some members of the SA [South African] Police force are presently on trial or appearing in cases being investigated against them. It must be emphasised that there is no evidence whatsoever that President de Klerk and/or members of his Cabinet are knowingly and willingly (willens en wetens) involved in any misdemeanours (mistande)."

Mr Coetsee pointed out, "for the sake of balance", that there was a continuous demand for police protection especially in black townships where members were frequently exposed and subjected to attacks which had already led to frequent loss of life.

Mr de Klerk, however, still did not intend to "water down" or withdraw the state's obligation to protect the communities. Against this, the ANC had so far failed to repudiate or discipline alleged ANC members who were involved in criminal actions with AK-47 rifles.

"There are many proofs of the breaking of the [National] Peace Accord by such armed elements, and yet the ANC leadership does nothing visible to bring these people under control. This leaves a wry taste when ANC spokesmen admit that they no longer have control over such people in their ranks (geledere) and can also do nothing about it.

"It can therefore be stated that the ANC should also accept responsibility for criminal elements who commit murder and robbery—significantly, also increasingly on elderly whites."

He said the government should therefore now ask Mr Mandela to refrain in terms of the Peace Accord from making unsubstantiated accusations and to now take drastic steps to bring such elements with ANC connections under control.

"Mr Mandela should realise that statements such as those he allegedly made in Helsinki are extremely irresponsible and have a very negative effect on the climate for political negotiation and participation, and that they in fact harm the negotiation process.

"The question can therefore rightly be asked as to whether the ANC is not busy creating a climate to destroy everything that has been achieved so far," Mr Coetsee said.

NP Head on 'Scandalous' Attack

MB2505135492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1336 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Cape Town May 25 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] leader Mr Nelson Mandela could not continually cast the blame elsewhere for violence and would have to do something to prove he was serious about ending the killing, the secretary-general of the National Party [NP], Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in a statement on Monday [25 May].

The latest attack on the state president by Mr Mandela in Geneva at the weekend was scandalous in the light of the latest evidence of the involvement of ANC members in violence on the Reef.

The personal attacks by Mr Mandela reflected no credit on the ANC leader particularly as Mr de Klerk and the NP had refrained from making personal attacks on ANC leadership.

"Should we resort to this there is plenty material we could use."

It would seem that Mr Mandela was being forced to front for the more radical elements in the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance.

Dr van der Merwe said he had reliable evidence about plans for mass action being hatched before the Codesa

[Convention for a Democratic South Africa] plenary session if the ANC did not get its way.

"It would appear as if the organisation participated in those negotiations merely as a smokescreen.

"Everything points to a hidden agenda aimed at achieving a takeover of power by the ANC through a finely-tuned strategy, so it can force its will on South Africa."

The latest threats to withdraw from agreements reached at Codesa so far were a transparent part of this strategy.

Minister on 'Reprehensible' Remarks

MB2505163492 Johannesburg S.A.P.A in English
1624 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Cape Town May 25 SAPA—The claim by ANC [African National Congress] president, Mr Nelson Mandela, that the state president was allowing the murder of people simply because they were black, was reprehensible, the minister of law and order, Mr Hernus Kriel, said on Monday.

"To say that the state president is behind the violence in which more than 1,000 people were killed, is devoid of all truth. Closer to the truth is that Mr Mandela, by not controlling his followers, is allowing black South Africans to be killed simply because they do not support the ANC," he said in a statement.

It was also clear that Mr Mandela and the ANC had no control over their supporters as was recently admitted before the Goldstone Commission by MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—ANC Military Wing] leader, Sydney Mpiilo.

Mr Kriel asked what steps Mr Mandela was taking against the following actions of his supporters:

- The "several hundred" ANC members who had been arrested in the last two years for possession of unlicensed firearms;
- More than 3,000 attacks against members of the SAP [South African Police] initiated by the ANC;
- Several hundred ANC members being positively connected with violent crimes such as murder, attempted murder, armed robbery and arson such as the recent killing of three security guards during a hold-up in Nigel in which ANC members escaped with R[and]600,000;
- The crime network in Phola Park under the banner of the ANC's self defence units.

"This network includes the arrest of 12 card-carrying ANC members in connection with several murders and attacks on policemen, farmers and IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] members. They are also being held in connection with a series of armed robberies, the illegal possession of firearms and a host of other crimes".

It was ironic that Mr Mandela's solution to the violence lay in the demand for joint control over the security forces.

ANC Official Admits Executions 'With Cause'

MB2505201292 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] may be forced to produce information about all the exiles allegedly executed by the organization. This follows reports that Mr. Siphwe Nyanda, ANC military wing chief of staff, had admitted that executions were carried out with cause.

Mr. Patrick Hlongwane, chairman of the so-called Exiles Committee, in a letter to Mr. Mandela, has requested permission to inspect the files of executed exiles. According to Mr. Hlongwane, the committee would like to know how many people have been murdered, and if they had any legal representation before they were executed.

Investigation Finds ANC, SACP Phones Tapped

MB2405144292 Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR
in English 24 May 92 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Telkom Man Bugged ANC [African National Congress] Phone Lines"]

[Text] Investigations into the tapping of ANC [African National Congress] and SACP [South African Communist Party] telephone lines at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] have established that the bugs were placed by a corrupt Telkom [Telecommunications] technician.

A security expert has dismissed suggestions that the bugs were sanctioned officially by the Government, which can authorize telephone taps when State security is threatened.

Spokesman for the South African Police and the Ministry of Defence have denied involvement in the phone-tapping.

The Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has not replied to questions.

Tapping Discussed

MB2505150092 Johannesburg SABA in English
1441 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Johannesburg May 25 SABA—Copies of a Sunday newspaper article on alleged tapping of African National Congress [ANC] telephones were distributed to the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Management Committee during a crucial meeting on Monday.

Discussions on the issue were introduced on Monday morning, ahead of scheduled negotiations on a deadlock on constitutional principles, and the way ahead for Codesa.

Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] delegation leader Dr Frank Mdlalose confirmed the issue was being discussed and indicated his party was unhappy about the delay.

"I am not minimising the importance of the issue, if it is true."

Inkatha felt the telephone tapping should have simply been noted to allow the Management Committee to carry on with more pressing matters, however.

Democratic Party [DP] leader Dr Zach de Beer also confirmed the problem was being discussed. Asked if the DP felt the matter should have been brought up at the Management Committee meeting, he said: "I would not have dealt with it like that, but then I don't have a chip on my shoulder."

He said the alleged tapping of telephones at Codesa was reprehensible, however.

Solidarity delegate C.K. Reddy was also unhappy about the morning's proceedings. He said the real issues of Working Group Two had been delayed by the ANC's insistence that its allegations of telephone tapping be immediately discussed.

Government negotiators were tight lipped about the allegations.

Dr Dawie de Villiers refused to comment and Dr Tertius Delport said: "Nothing has been proved. We would need prima facie proof."

Management Committee chairman Pravin Gordhan confirmed the issue was being discussed.

He said reconstitution of the Daily Management Committee and the enlargement of the Management Committee was also on the day's agenda, along with the Working Group Two deadlock and merging of the other working groups.

It has been suggested that Working Groups One (creating a climate for free political activity) and Four (TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states) be allowed to continue their work, while Two (constitutional principles) and Three (interim arrangements) merge. Working Group Five (time frames) will be suspended.

The reconstitution of the Daily Management Committee is a technical matter, which might affect its chairmanship.

Asked for official comment from the Management Committee, Mr Gordhan said: "I'm not sure if I'm still going to be chairman."

ANC Alliance May Withdraw From Peace Accord

MB2205173892 Johannesburg SABA in English
1655 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Johannesburg May 22 SABA—Codesa's [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] [as received] Regional Dispute Resolution Committee executive is to refer the possible withdrawal from the Peace Accord by the African National Congress and its alliance partners to the Goldstone Commission.

Chairman of the committee Charles Nupen said in a statement on Friday [22 May] the commission would be urged to investigate and issue its findings as quickly as possible.

"Other parties on the committee were distressed by the prospect of withdrawal and stressed it would be premature for any party to withdraw or suspend participation in the peace accord at this stage," Mr Nupen said.

"Much has been achieved in terms of establishing local peace committees that must be given the opportunity to prove their effectiveness and it was felt that any party which has difficulty with aspects of the accord should first exhaust internal avenues."

Justice Official Comments

*MB2405194892 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1815 GMT 24 May 92*

[Interview with Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte in the Cape Town studio of the South African Broadcasting Corporation by John Bishop in Johannesburg, on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Bishop] Judged on figures, for the first four months of this year, some 250 South Africans are dying in political and criminal violence each month. Now it seems the national peace accord might itself be in jeopardy. Well, we'd hoped to be joined by Mr. Saki Macozoma—he's the head of the media liaison of the ANC [African National Congress]—but for some reason or another he hasn't turned up. With us, however, in the Cape Town studio, Mr. Danie Schutte, deputy minister of justice. Big welcome, Deputy Minister. Thanks for joining us. I am going to have to, sort of, work with you alone. As you heard, we don't have a representative from the ANC. We're sorry about that. Let me fire this one at you, and it comes from the ANC itself. A couple of days ago, in fact, it was announced that the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] region and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and other allies of the ANC might think of pulling out of the peace accord. Do you know about that? What are your comments, sir?

[Schutte] Thank you very much. Yes, I know about that. May I just, first of all, set out the government's point of view in this regard. We are totally committed to the peace process. We are totally committed to the peace accord, and we will do everything in our power to ensure that peace is upheld. As far as the statement of the ANC is concerned, I am amazed at that, because the reasons they have advanced is their suspicion as to police complicity in certain unlawful acts. Now, may I say, as far as that is concerned, that the peace accord makes provision for those kind of allegations to be investigated, first of all by way of police reporting offices, which are there in terms of the peace accord, to ensure that the police accord to the police code, which is set out. Also, complaints can be, in terms of the peace accord, referred to the Goldstone Commission and also to the National Peace Committee [NPC]. So I would submit that all the instruments are there for these matters to be investigated, and certainly, that is not a reason, if there is any basis for that, for that reason, to move out of the peace accord.

[Bishop] Now, in fairness, of course, the ANC as a whole has not said it's pulling out of the peace accord and indeed, there was supposed to be a meeting on Friday [22 May], at which this would be discussed. I know the national peace accord's highest committee had a meeting as well. Can you give us some information about that?

[Schutte] Well, the National Peace Committee has decided to call for a broad committee meeting that is to be on this Tuesday [26 May], so I would suggest that the whole matter would be discussed there. I would suggest that one of the main reasons for the current breakdown, as far as law and order is concerned, and for the indications, as far as figures are concerned, is the fact that at ground level there isn't the discipline among certain groupings. There is also not the control from the upper levels, as far as leadership is concerned. There is incitement, not only against the police, but also against other political organizations, and I would submit that these things should be discussed. My own view is that the ANC should call for the involvement of the national leadership of the various groupings, to discuss these issues, and also to possibly discuss further stronger activities or actions by the police and the security forces.

[Bishop] Yes. But let's go back to the allegations about the government. It's said that there's a kind of low intensity war being waged by the government, exacerbated, I should imagine, by reports about hit squads, security force hit squads, and so forth. If there is this perceived view about the security forces, what is the government doing to get rid of that bad view of the security forces?

[Schutte] Well Mr. Bishop, all the instruments are there for that to be investigated in depth. I have referred to the national peace accord, and the instruments in terms of the national peace accord, the police reporting offices, the Goldstone Commission, the fact that the inquest act has been changed. They are all there. We've had these allegations for a long period, and all the avenues have been used.

[Bishop] Yes, you've said that already, Mr. Minister. Can I just ask you about multiparty control? It's been suggested that the parties, that is to say, your political opponents, and government, of course, should get together and have a multiparty control system for security in this country. What do you say to that?

[Schutte] Mr. Bishop, I think that can be discussed, but in terms of the peace accord, there is already a police board, which is multiparty and represents the police and the public—a multiparty body, and it is already there in place, to look at the way that the police does its work.

[Bishop] Mr. Minister, one can't help looking back to Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] Two and feeling a great groan from the people of South Africa, that really it seems that right at the top of the list, was political wrangling for power grouping. The government, the National Party, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress], not there, but looking at you from the sidelines; the ANC deep in there, fighting with you. Surely it's acknowledged that peace is the first proviso, the first need, and you should be sitting down and doing that?

[Schutte] I cannot agree with you more. We cannot have any future, we cannot have peace, we cannot have democracy, unless this matter is given priority. For that reason, I cannot accept that one of the parties would even think about going out of the peace process. May I just point out this; one of the problems has been the discipline. I find

it totally unbelievable that on the one hand, Mr. Mandela would argue for the strong cessation and the termination of the armed struggle, and on the other hand, one of his regions would have doubts about its involvement in the peace process.

[Bishop] Mr. Minister, about 30 seconds to go. It's been suggested that the national peace accord might call for the three top men—or three of the top men, let's be diplomatic about that—that is, the president, Chief Buthelezi, and Mr. Mandela, of course, to come together and try and sort it out on the spot, or at least set the ball rolling.

[Schuttee] Mr. Bishop, I would suggest that that is a very good suggestion, and I would suggest that the matter of incitement, the question of lack of control and discipline, and stronger action, those are the matters that should be on that agenda.

[Bishop] Well, thank you very much. As I say, it was one-sided, because the ANC representative was not here, but thank you for joining us anyway from Cape Town.

Minister on ANC's 'Inability' in Negotiations

*MB2205134392 Johannesburg SABA in English
1321 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] Parliament May 22 SABA—If the African National Congress' [ANC] inability to achieve its goals by way of negotiation led to intimidation and violence, it and its allies, even within Parliament, would have to bear the consequences, the minister of constitutional development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said on Friday [22 May].

Speaking during debate on his department's vote, he said that the ANC, SA [South African] Communist Party [SACP] and Congress of SA Trade Unions [COSATU] should stop flirting with street politics, violence, intimidation and other forms of mass action.

At least part of the ANC and its allies had not entered the negotiation process entirely in good faith.

"While the ANC was under the impression that it could foist its own simplistic model on the rest of South Africa, it was more than willing to discuss the broad principles as well as the details of transitional arrangements and the finalising of a new constitution."

The ANC continued to play with the idea of autocratic interim government ruling by decree.

The fact that the organisation had had to make and honour compromises had led to the leadership contemplating going back to the Harare Declaration, demanding that power should be transferred to an interim government which would not be accountable to anybody or subject to any constitutional prescriptions.

Mr Meyer said the ANC's sudden fear of complying with agreements reached in negotiations was also related to its own estimation of its support levels.

It was clear that the ANC had proved itself incapable of transforming the symbolic support it enjoyed while being a

banned revolutionary movement into lasting support now that it was obliged to fight on an equal level with other parties.

"This might well explain why certain ANC members have already indicated their reservations concerning (ANC leader) Mr (Nelson) Mandela's statement that the ANC no longer sees the so-called armed struggle as a viable alternative to negotiation."

The government was concerned at the continuous spiral of violence and found it unacceptable.

"It is indeed a pity that certain parties continue to try and use so-called mass action and public statements in a spirit contrary to what they agreed in the terms of the National Peace Accord.

"The government is hopeful that the ANC will rethink its present posturing and will commit all its energy to finding a political solution acceptable to South Africa as a whole."

One upmanship and confrontation would only have short term gains and would be to the detriment of the process towards a democratic SA [South Africa].

The government recommitted itself to the provisions of the Peace Accord and appealed to leaders of all other parties and organisations to do the same.

"This is the only solution to bring an end to the senseless violence."

ANC's Ramaphosa Says Codesa III To Go Ahead

*MB2205175992 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network
in English 1600 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa says Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] III will go ahead despite the differences between the government and the ANC; however, it could take place later than anticipated. Mr. Ramaphosa was speaking at a meeting hosted by the ANC's central branch in the Natal Midlands.

[Begin recording] [SABC reporter Ida Jooste] Mr. Ramaphosa said the ANC had hoped the government would enter Codesa Two with a position of compromise as the ANC had done. He said it was clear that the government saw the proposed interim constitution as a permanent one.

[Ramaphosa] We have agreed at Codesa that in the end you could have an interim constitution which will usher us through the period of transition for a few months, being drafted by Codesa itself; a constitution which will enable us to draft the constitution, the new constitution, in a constituent assembly.

[Jooste] He said the ANC was compelled to review its position, particularly in the light of the government's insistence that a constitution making body should be appointed and not elected. Mr. Ramaphosa said hopes for a date for an interim government and for the reincorporation of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states were dashed at Codesa Two. [end recording]

Minister Says PAC, CP Should Enter Codesa Talks*MB2205161192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1513 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] Parliament May 22 SAPA—The Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] and the Conservative Party [CP] should become part of the negotiation process, the minister of constitutional development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said on Friday.

Speaking during debate on his department's vote, he said parties based on race had no chance of survival and would not significantly influence the political process.

"The longer the CP stays out in the cold and refuses to join negotiations, the less chance there is that any of its policies will be manifested in the end result.

"Get involved in the process or you will have to accept that you will be leaders with no relevant supporters."

The CP's legitimacy was being undermined by the negotiation process.

"The CP must therefore once and for all decide if it is interested in being counted in the politics of the new South Africa."

The PAC should also stop its "hard-to-get" attitude and become part of the negotiation process.

"The PAC has during the past few weeks been informed by a number of African states that it will receive no further support for any form of so-called armed struggle, and it should by now be clear that the only way it can play a constructive part in South Africa's future is to join the negotiation process."

The government was "more than willing" to follow up bilateral discussions which had already taken place between itself and the PAC.

Government-ANC Ties Reportedly at 'Rock-Bottom'*MB2305110892 Johannesburg SATURDAY STAR
in English 23 May 92 pp 1, 2*

[Report by political editor Shaun Johnson: "ANC [African National Congress], Govt Ties Hit Rock-Bottom"]

[Text] Relations between the Government and the African National Congress [ANC] are at their lowest point since the famous "ultimatum" showdown of April 1991.

Hopes that the cracks which appeared at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 could be papered over were comprehensively dashed this week.

The new atmosphere of deep distrust, prompted by the failure of Codesa 2 to produce agreement on how to bring blacks into government soon, led to a five-day verbal free-for-all between the country's two key negotiating partners.

Both reverted to hard-line positions, threatening to reverse rather than merely stall progress in Codesa.

The acrimony looks set to continue in the run-up to next week's crucial ANC policy conference—unless Codesa's management committee can pull off what one negotiator calls a "political miracle" at its meeting at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

ANC sources are now stressing that the problem is no longer one of detail—Codesa 2 foundered on the issue of "special majorities" for endorsing a new constitution and altering regional structures—but rather that the organisation is now convinced the Government has no intention of relinquishing a white veto.

This is leading to a thoroughgoing tactical rethink on negotiations by the ANC.

The Government is trying to lure the ANC into a complicated constitutional trap, say the sources, and for this reason all compromise positions offered at Codesa 2 have been withdrawn.

ANC strategists are convinced that in the course of last-minute negotiations before—and even during—Codesa 2, the Government revealed more of its political hand than it had intended to. The result was to shock the ANC into its current suspicious and angry mood.

The ANC believes the Government wants to bring the organisation into a "transitional executive structure" which offers only limited shared powers, but provides President de Klerk's administration with a cloak of "non-racial legitimacy".

Then, with the aid of inordinately high "special majority" requirements for agreements on the next phase, the Government could lock the ANC into "semi-permanent transition". Real power would still reside in De Klerk's office and the transition could stretch out indefinitely.

Observers believe the new situation will have three clearly discernible effects. It will delay considerably the implementation of even the first tentative phase of transitional government; it will strengthen the hands of militants at the ANC's four-day policy conference starting at Nasrec on Thursday; and it will greatly increase the likelihood of mass action and strikes.

While stopping short of saying that Codesa itself might disintegrate, observers predict that a reasonably protracted period of "locking of horns" is now all but inevitable.

This means that earlier speculation about the installation of an interim government this year, and the country's first all-in democratic elections next year, is being radically modified.

Already Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr. Tertius Delpoit has said the chances of transitional legislation being passed during this sitting of Parliament—the recess is scheduled for the end of June—are "almost nil".

There is still the possibility of a special parliamentary sitting later in the year, but it would require a prior reconciliation of dramatic proportions. Parliament will only consider the relevant legislation when it has been agreed to unanimously by Codesa participants.

In the last five days, ANC and Government heavyweights have torn into each other on public platforms.

Government negotiators, stung by the ANC's new intractable stance, have accused the organisation of seeking to "grab power, all power all at once".

Powerful figures in the negotiations, including new Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, are still hoping that the Codesa Management Committee will be able to chart a course out of the impasse.

The Management Committee was given greatly increased powers by Codesa 2, in an attempt to streamline efforts towards multiparty agreement.

The task is a mammoth one, however: the Management Committee comprises representatives of all 19 Codesa parties which symmetrically enough, are split down the middle into broad "pro-Government" and "pro-ANC" camps.

With the Democratic Party doggedly occupying the middle ground, there are nine groupings on each side of the divide.

The timing of the latest stand-off is considered to be particularly inopportune, given the imminent start of the ANC's long-awaited policy-making conference next week.

The conference will in effect draw up the organisation's first election manifesto. The movement will have to tie itself to specific policy formulations on such controversial issues as nationalisation, redistribution and property rights.

The current atmosphere will make it extremely difficult for those in the ANC who favour a marked "softening" of previously held positions.

Hani Says Government Must Be 'More Flexible'

MB2305130892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1209 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Johannesburg May 23 SAPA—The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) could be endangered if the SA [South African] Government does not become more flexible, SA Communist Party [SACP] Secretary General Chris Hani told reporters during a National Union of Mine Workers (NUM) march on Saturday afternoon.

Should an interim government not be instituted soon, "we will step up (not resume) the struggle". He did not elaborate on what he meant by struggle.

Mr Hani—dressed in clean, creased but stiff-looking blue overalls with a blue hardhat to match—joined about 1,000 mine workers who marched on the JCI [Johannesburg Chamber of Industries] and Gold Fields buildings to deliver a memorandum.

A JCI representative was on hand to receive the memorandum, but a security officer at the Gold Fields building had to receive the memorandum because management had not been officially informed about the march.

After the two memorandums were delivered, Mr Hani, standing on top of a car, told the marchers until their demands were met, they would march every week if they had to.

NUM spokesman Jerry Majatladi on Friday said the march followed the failure by some mines belonging to the two groups to implement "social rights" concessions agreed to between the NUM and the Chamber of Mines last year.

ANC Gives 'Bottom Line' for Constitution Talks

MB2405103192 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES
in English 24 May 92 p 2

[Report by Edyth Bulbring and Mike Robertson: "ANC's [African National Congress] Bottom Line"]

[Text] On the eve of crucial talks to save Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa], the ANC [African National Congress] has spelt out its bottom line for the writing of a new constitution.

An ANC negotiator said this week the organisation would agree to the three-stage plan for transition to democracy at present on the table at Codesa only if four conditions were met.

These were that:

- Decisions by the National Assembly on the final constitution were accepted by a 66.7 percent majority;
- A proposed senate would play no role in drawing up the constitution;
- A deadlock-breaking mechanism would be put in place;
- There would be rigid time-frames for the drawing up of a final constitution.

Codesa 2 reached deadlock last week and the ANC has warned that unless the outstanding issues can be speedily resolved it will abandon all agreements reached by the convention and resort to mass action to force the government to relinquish power.

Government negotiators have responded by saying that any such move by the ANC will be resisted and the result could be a complete collapse of negotiations.

This week, in debates in Parliament and interviews, government negotiators made their bottom lines clear.

Chief among them:

- No time-frames for constitution-making;
- A powerful senate in which all regions have representation;
- A multi-party executive or cabinet.

The ANC has until now been prepared to accept these in an interim constitution provided it has a specific, short lifespan. But its objects to the idea that they should be entrenched in a final constitution.

The reason it gives is that forced coalition government would thwart the will of the majority. The NP [National Party], on the other hand, argues that power-sharing is the only option for SA [South Africa] and it will accept nothing else.

The ANC is also opposed to the idea of entrenching powers of a senate at a time when the composition of the senate has not been decided.

In particular it is strongly opposed to the NP idea that not only should all regions have equal representation in a senate, but that the three parties which receive the most votes in all regions be given an equal number of seats in the senate.

The NP, however, insists on strong regional government and regional representation in parliament, and says this matter has to be decided now and entrenched in a final constitution.

Senior ANC members said this week they were consulting their alliance partners, including the SA Communist Party and COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], about possible mass action.

This action, they said, could include a national strike and pressure to ban SA from the Olympic Games in Barcelona in July.

Codesa's Management Committee, which has been given the task of attempting to end the deadlock on the drawing up of a constitution meets tomorrow.

However, it is also likely that the government and the ANC will soon hold talks in a bid to break the logjam.

Top of the agenda for both the Management Committee meeting and any bilateral talks between the main parties will be to decide on the body that will draw up a new constitution.

While the ANC and the government had agreed that this body would be democratically elected on the basis of an interim constitution drawn up by Codesa, the ANC has said it is reconsidering its position.

ANC Clarifies Talks at MK-SADF Meeting

*MB2205155192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1523 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] Johannesburg May 22 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Friday [22 May] denied Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] commanders and the SA [South African] Defence Force [SADF] had specifically met to discuss the shape of a post-apartheid army.

"Contact between the ANC and some army generals took place in the context of bilateral talks between the ANC and the government on Paragraph 3 of the Pretoria Minute. The issue of the shape of a future defence force was discussed in that context, as an aspect of Paragraph 3," the organisation said in a statement issued in Johannesburg.

The ANC added that the creation of "a new and legitimate defence force in South Africa through the integration of all existing military forces" in the country was urgent.

"The ANC would, therefore, welcome discussions between the SADF and MK on a bilateral level and discussions in this direction in the Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] process."

Minister Rejects Integration of Umkhonto, SADF

*MB2205162792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1557 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] Parliament May 22 SAPA—There would be no integration of Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] into the SA [South African] Defence Force [SADF] but there were discussions on rationalisation, the minister of constitutional development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said on Friday.

Replying to the constitutional development vote debate, he said the rationalisation of the Defence Force would have to be implemented in terms of the Constitution and the Defence Act.

There were bilateral discussions underway between the government and the ANC [African National Congress] on the future of the SADF but there had been no talk of integration.

One of the main points under discussion was an assurance that the ANC had accepted that the armed struggle was over.

Portions of other private armies such as the AWB's [Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging; Afrikaner Resistance Movement] Ystergaarde [Iron Guard] and the Azanian People's Liberation Army could be accepted into a rationalised Defence Force but violence against the state had to be forewarned.

Pretoria Conference Discusses Future Defense Force

MK Commander's Address

*MB2305140592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1347 GMT 23 May 92*

[Text] Pretoria May 23 SAPA—A future SA [South African] Defence Force must have legitimacy in order for it to operate successfully, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] Commander Joe Modise said at a conference on defence and security in Pretoria on Saturday.

It was a lack of legitimacy which militated against the SADF [South African Defense Force] which was viewed as an extension of the apartheid ideology, he said.

Placing the armed forces under the control of the interim civil authority would ensure the military did not intervene negatively in civil-military relations.

The primary role of the SADF was to protect the country from external aggression, Mr Modise said.

Secondly, it should act in support of the civilian authority with regard to socio-economic reconstruction and in the event of natural disasters.

The military should also be disengaged from an internal role as soon as possible, he added.

These steps, said Mr Modise, should begin during the transitional period.

Democratic Party Spokesman

MB2305135592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1314 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Pretoria May 23 SAPA—Bringing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)], the African National Congress' [ANC] armed wing, and the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] Defence Forces into the SADF [South African Defence Force] as composite formations would result in divided loyalties and a breakdown in the cohesion of the permanent force, Democratic Party defence spokesman Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers said on Friday.

Gen Rogers was speaking at a conference on defence and security in transition in Pretoria.

"A new defence force culture, embracing all its constituent parts, will have to be developed."

He said a future defence force should not be larger than the present one, therefore as many people as possible should join the expanding SA [South African] Police.

"The main change in the thrust of military training will be to prepare the Defence Force for its role in accordance with the requirements of a democratic society.

"A concerted programme will have to be instituted to educate soldiers in the correct relationship between the soldier, the citizen and the state," Gen Rogers said.

However, MK should only join the SADF once it stopped the armed struggle and was no longer a private army.

Likewise, the TBVC armies could only join once the homelands were incorporated into South Africa.

Gen Rogers also suggested that an ombudsman, appointed by and responsible to Parliament, investigate any act which constituted an infringement of individual rights as set out in the bill of rights.

Venda Leader Comments

MB2305145492 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1210 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Pretoria May 23 SAPA—Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana on Saturday said it was essential that a future South African Defence Force [SADF] be controlled by an inclusive Parliament.

Addressing a three-day conference of the Five Freedoms Forum entitled "Defence and Security in Transition", Brig Ramushwana pointed out that the military was part of a broader society.

"Any state in transition, such as South Africa, can have only one military force, loyal and accountable to the constitution and legislature. It is my firm belief that control should be exercised by Parliament which acts as supreme authority of the people.

"This is vital as military forces have and always will be susceptible to manipulation by political groupings," said the Venda military ruler.

Transkei's Holomisa Speaks

MB2305143592 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1417 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Pretoria May 23 SAPA—Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa on Saturday cautioned those involved in negotiations on the integration of the Armed Forces in South Africa not to accede until an acceptable political settlement had been achieved in the country.

Addressing the Five Freedoms Forum in Pretoria, Gen Holomisa said this had to precede the integration into the SA [South African] Defence Force [SADF] of the African National Congress's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) and the defence forces of the independent homelands (TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states).

He urged the government to approach organisations with military wings not presently participating in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) with a view to meeting their pre-conditions to negotiations.

"Talk of integration of forces under the present political set-up means in essence that revolutionary forces opposed to the status quo will be used to buttress it and chase and harass their brothers still committed to the armed struggle.

"Any deviation from this stated position is a recipe for national disaster and the fomentation of civil strife similar to that in Angola and Mozambique."

Gen Holomisa said the over-representation of whites in the security establishment militated against the creation of a free political climate, one of the prerequisites for the emergence of an egalitarian society in South Africa.

"This imbalance arouses suspicion and engenders deep-seated mistrust. It poses a really serious threat to the majority's desire for effective political power, which is exacerbated by the realisation that the present composition of the Armed Forces cannot be terminated overnight to reflect our social make-up.

"The continued white domination does not bode well for the stability of the future non-racial and democratic government as it can be lured into undermining majority aspirations should the new government redirect resources to uplift the underprivileged."

He said the promotion of a "significant" number of qualified and competent black soldiers to the officer corps

with the accompanying improvement of their skills, quality and experience would ease tensions and drastically reduce levels of alienation.

Furthermore, the visible presence of senior officers of the TBVC armies, MK, APLA and the SADF in the command structure of the national defence force would inspire confidence and loyalty, and leave no room for disillusionment in the ranks of any former organised military force, Gen Holomisa said.

SADF Absence Criticized

*MB2405151892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1434 GMT 24 May 92*

[By Norman Patterton]

[Text] Pretoria May 24 SAPA—Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK); ANC military wing] chief Joe Modise on Sunday slammed Defence Minister Roelf Meyer for having allegedly denied the SADF [South African Defence Force] permission to participate in a military conference outside Pretoria.

Mr Modise told a news conference at Tiegerpoort that Mr Meyer used the SA [South African] Defence Force as an instrument, and would not grant it the right to participate and think for itself regarding its own future.

He was speaking at the conclusion of a Five Freedoms Forum conference on defence and security in transition, which was attended by senior representatives from the African National Congress [ANC] MK, the Transkei and Venda Defence Forces, academics, Democratic Party defence spokesman Bob Rogers and military attaches.

Gen Rogers said he would ensure that the contents of a consensus document drafted at the conference would be brought to Mr Meyer's notice.

Mr Modise reiterated charges that the SADF was involved in township violence, and called for the disbandment of 31 and 32 Battalions.

Consensus was reached at the conference on the need for the creation of a new defence force on the basis of integrating all armed forces of parties in the wider negotiation process.

"These forces will be disbanded at the point of integration into a new national defence force," said the consensus document, released at the news conference.

"That process is required to ensure that the new defence force is both legitimate in the eyes of the vast majority of South Africans, and reflects the national composition of our country and defends consciously the principles of the new constitution."

The conference also expressed its deep concern that "partisan interests have prevented the SADF and Ministry of Defence from participating as delegates in the conference.

"We urge all those who declined to participate to think of our nation's needs above particular desires and interests."

Greater information was required about the activities of the defence force and other armed forces so that the public could debate their role and future, the document said.

It added that the continued white male conscription into the SADF was an anomaly in the new situation of negotiation, and should be phased out completely.

A programme of affirmative action in line with the bill of rights should form part of the new order in the defence force to accurately reflect the social composition of the country.

The conference expressed its deep concern about the special forces units and the lack of information about them.

Government Issues Statement on Violence 22 May

*MB2205162392 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1559 GMT 22 May 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: SA [South African] Communication Service: "Press statement: Government Views Relating to Violence"]

[Text] Deputy Minister Danie Schutte today presented the government's views on the situation of violence in the country.

The information which the deputy minister presented included:

- An analysis of recent violence in South Africa; and
- An exposition of the steps which the government has taken to promote peace and to maintain order.

During the past two and a half months the most notable aspect of violence had been the increase in the number of fatalities as a result of political and ethnic violence. In March almost 300 people were killed (the most since August 1990) and in April more than 250.

A number of tendencies are evident.

Firstly, for some time now the proportion of fatalities to incidents has been increasing. This means that incidents have become both more violent and more sophisticated. This is an indication of the more widespread use of firearms and the large number of firearms which are now illegally available.

Secondly, two regions are primarily involved in the violence: Natal, with 86 fatalities in March and 55 in April, particularly in Empangeni, Imbali and Umlazi; and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging], with 166 fatalities in March and 185 in April, particularly in Alexandra, parts of Soweto, Katlehong, Thokoza, Phola Park, Sebokeng and Sharpeville.

Thirdly, violence is not prevalent in all the residential areas in the two regions most seriously affected. However, apart from the residential areas where serious violence has taken place, there are other areas where there is an abnormal level of tension which can explode into violence at the slightest provocation.

Violence is a complex phenomenon which cannot be ascribed to any single cause. Among the complex factors which can be identified are:

- The conflict between political parties;
- Ethnic factors;
- Political groups at grass-roots level that are not under the control of their national leadership;
- Mob violence; and
- Criminal activity.

He also listed the action which the government itself has taken to combat violence. These include:

- Increasing the budget of the South African Police [SAP] by 96 percent over the past two years to R[and]5,645 billion;
- The deployment of up to 30 percent of the SAP, i.e. 38,000 members out of 115,000, in the prevention of violence and unrest;
- The establishment of the Goldstone Commission and the referral of numerous allegations concerning the perpetration of violence to the commission for investigation;
- The launching of its own peace initiative last year which gave rise to the peace accord;
- The establishment of special units to investigate matters which require urgent attention and to ensure that the process of law should be set in motion as rapidly as possible;
- Rigorous prosecution of members of the security forces who have broken the law.

The deputy minister registered the strongest possible protest against the recent spate of unprovoked attacks against the police. Thus far during 1992, 73 policemen had been murdered in the course of duty, many of them in ambushes. This compares with a total number of 145 policemen who were killed in the course of their duties during 1992. There is no doubt that the propaganda campaign which has been launched against the security forces has helped to create the atmosphere which has led to these attacks. He accordingly called on all parties to support the police in maintaining order.

The deputy minister repeated the government's demand for the termination of the armed struggle and the abandonment of violence as a means of achieving political objectives and called for strict adherence to the peace accord and to the code of conduct for political parties. Issued by Deputy Minister Danie Schutte. Johannesburg 22 May 1992

ANC 'in Turmoil' Over Abandoning Armed Struggle
MB2505103892 Johannesburg *BEELD in Afrikaans*
21 May 92 p 2

[Report by political correspondent: "Conflict: Mandela Shocks ANC [African National Congress]"]

[Text] Cape Town - The ANC [African National Congress] is in turmoil after the unexpected announcement by its president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, that the organization has abandoned the armed struggle.

Umkhonto we Sizwe's [ANC military wing, MK] chief of staff, Mr. Siphile Nyanda, and regional leaders of the ANC and the South African Communist Party [SACP] yesterday firmly resisted and denied that their organization had changed its policy on this issue.

Mr. Nyanda, Chris Hani's successor, announced that the ANC's position on the armed struggle remains the same, namely, that it has been suspended. Mr. Mandela did not say, according to him, that the armed struggle has been abandoned.

Regarding the ANC's armed caches, the position is that they will still be under the control of a multiracial interim government whenever such a government is installed, Mr. Nyanda said.

Mr. Mandela announced at a news conference two days ago in Oslo, Sweden, [as published] that the ANC is an organization of peace and will, on that basis, not revert to the armed struggle. This view has been widely welcomed in parliamentary circles.

The ANC leader further said that if negotiations for a multiracial interim government should fail, the option would be to resort to a country-wide mass protest.

The reaction, particularly of people from the SACP, yesterday indicated that reports of Mr. Mandela's utterances caused a considerable stir within the ANC/SACP/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance.

An official of the SACP's head office in Johannesburg said that none of the senior spokesmen were available, but as far as he was concerned, "the struggle would go on, in whatever form."

Western Cape Regional Secretary Toni Yengeni said that he could find nothing in Mr. Mandela's report which indicated that the ANC leader did in fact state that the ANC had abandoned the armed struggle, and would not resort to it ever, should negotiations fail.

It still remains ANC policy that the armed struggle has only been suspended and not abandoned. All that Mr. Mandela was trying to say, is that the ANC is a peaceful organization.

If ANC members at regional and national level should decide the armed struggle must continue, the leadership will have to accept the decision. The criterion will be whether pursuance of the armed struggle proves "viable", Mr. Yengeni said. He is a member of the SACP and has also been linked to the MK.

Natal Midlands Regional Secretary Ben Martins said that to his knowledge what Mr. Mandela said was that if negotiations would come to a halt, the immediate step would be to commence with mass action.

He "hopes and prays" the Convention for a Democratic South Africa will yield positive results, but if the government reverted to "classical apartheid", or if there was a rightwing takeover, the armed struggle would then become a valid option, Mr. Martins said.

'Fury' Over Plans for General Amnesty Viewed

MB2405132892 Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 24 May 92 p 9

[Report by political correspondent David Breier: "Amnesty Talks Anger"]

[Text] Fury is mounting over suspicions that the Government is planning a general amnesty as a ploy to indemnify the perpetrators of security force atrocities.

A general amnesty would enable a wide range of killers to go free—including former captain Brian Mitchell, the Trust Feeds mass murderer, and SADF [South African Defense Force] members responsible for the Goniwe murders in 1985. Also covered would be ANC [African National Congress] killers such as Durban bomber Robert McBride. Even "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom could benefit.

ANC sources have said that Government officials, including senior SADF officers, had suggested a general amnesty in bilateral talks between the Government and ANC.

Among officials proposing the general amnesty is said to be Defence Force Chief Kat Liebenberg, who is closely associated with military intelligence chief Stoffel van der Westhuizen, implicated in the "death warrant" signal that preceded the murder of Matthew Goniwe and three other activists in 1985.

The Justice Department has confirmed that negotiations on a more comprehensive amnesty are in progress, but insist that the initiative has come from the ANC rather than from the Government.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon condemned any "cynical swop" which would allow even more killers to go free at the expense of public safety.

He said the widespread early release of criminals last year—including security force members convicted for murder—alongside genuine political prisoners had been an "unmitigated disaster".

The definition of political prisoners which the indemnity panel used was internationally accepted and did not include the perpetrators of serious common law crimes, he pointed out.

Ministry of Justice spokesman Nic Grobler said it was the ANC and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) that were pressing for wider indemnity, rather than the Government.

"The possibility of a more comprehensive indemnity has been raised on several occasions since bilateral negotiations with the ANC began in 1990.

"The ANC and organisations such as LHR have been pressing for this and more. The discussions are continuing. No agreement in this regard has been reached," he said.

Buthelezi Stresses Importance of Federalism

MB2305174392 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1715 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Pretoria May 23 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] would see to it that there was no election while high levels of violence made the politics of intimidation the order of the day, IFP President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in Pretoria on Saturday.

He told a Public Servants Association conference that the IFP would not rush into any election which could only distort the real will of the people.

The African National Congress's [ANC] armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation (MK)], should be disbanded before there could be any election.

Any power devolved from the centre of a unitary state to a regional local authority structure could be withdrawn at any time, Dr Buthelezi said.

Once an interim government was in power it could rapidly set about entrenching itself.

"An elected constituent assembly could well become a permanent assembly and the ruling party in it could well be made dominant because of violence and intimidation and could become the ruling party in a one party state."

The IFP held that the answer lay in federalism.

Dr Buthelezi envisaged a federal republic with each state having its own civil service under its own Civil Service Commission.

"IFP delegates at Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] are under instruction to make quite sure that civil servants in TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states which may be reincorporated into South Africa will lose nothing in the transition.

"The same instruction will be given to IFP delegates dealing with the regionalisation of the civil service."

Control of Secret Services Account 'Inefficient'

MB2305142392 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1400 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The parliamentary joint committee on public accounts has expressed its grave dissatisfaction with the inefficient control measures applied to certain transactions under the secret services account, which falls under the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In its first report for 1992 published today, it says an amount of 1,587,669 rands had been transferred abroad to obtain shareholdings in a foreign company. It says no shareholding could, however, be obtained, and all attempts to recover the money have failed.

According to the evidence, an agent paid the amount into a trust account abroad, where it was withdrawn by the

prospective partner in the venture, without his honoring the conditions of the agreement.

The committee has requested the auditor general to investigate the shortcomings revealed during the transaction.

22 May Press Review on Current Events, Issues
MB2205134992

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Talk of Peace Accord Pull-Out 'Regrettable'—Talk among political groups of pulling out of the National Peace Accord is "deeply regrettable," according to a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg **THE STAR** in English on 22 May. "Alleged security force complicity in violence demands a reconsideration of participation in peace accord structures, according to the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] regions of the ANC [African National Congress], COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and SACP [South African Communist Party]." "There can be no doubt that the security forces are not trusted by the bulk of the black community, and new revelations merely tend to confirm long-held suspicions. The solution is multiparty control via transitional structures, but while we wait for that, Mr De Klerk could announce a fully fledged clean-up operation in the police and army." Inaction will lead to "further dangerous rumblings in the townships about the worthlessness of the peace accord."

Gerrit Viljoen's Negotiating Talents Needed—A second editorial on the same page comments on the corruption scandal in the Department of Development Aid formerly headed by Gerrit Viljoen, who is now minister for state affairs, saying "it would be a pity to lose his services as a negotiator." He has shown himself to be "an able negotiator, with a cool head and an understanding that the negotiating process is a matter of give and take, of compromises as well as demands. His absence in the week before Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa] 2 may have contributed to the ensuing impasse. He might have been able to steady the overworked and pressured Tertius Delpoit [deputy minister of constitutional development]." **THE STAR** believes Viljoen should "forfeit his place as the De Klerk administration's chief negotiator but to be incorporated into the National Party's team. He should pay for his incompetence as an administrator without depriving Codesa of his talents as a negotiator."

BUSINESS DAY

Harder Line at Codesa To Delay Economic Progress—The ANC alliance is going to have to weigh up the value of a harder line at Codesa "against the costs this will impose, given the urgency with which it wants the establishment of some form of interim government," notes Johannesburg **BUSINESS DAY** in English on 22 May in a page 12 editorial. "The NP, for its part, may think it has time on its side in that it remains in formal control of government. But it has not fared well on the propaganda front, with

allegations of security force misdoings and financial corruption being exacerbated by some questionable positions it has taken at the negotiation table. The costs of the impasse will not, however, accrue only to the politicians. Threats by members of the ANC alliance to withdraw from the peace accord structures because of the security force revelations may be understandable on an emotional level, but may also be short-sighted. Economic take-off depends on a political settlement and the ending of violence. Each delay there holds up economic progress."

NEW NATION

Codesa Deadlock 'Positive Thing'—Johannesburg **NEW NATION** in English for 22-28 May in a page 24 editorial believes the deadlock at Codesa 2 "is in a way a positive thing." It will have the effect of "regenerating the struggle at grassroots level and involve more structures in giving an input as to what direction Codesa should take." "If the government had hoped that any forward movement at Codesa would have the effect of clouding other issues, then it must be bitterly disappointed." President de Klerk "still has not answered the pressing questions about the conduct of the officers implicated in the signal message calling for the elimination of [alleged activist] Goniwe." **NEW NATION** is further "perturbed by reports that the government is working furiously towards granting a general amnesty to all those who were involved in state sanctioned killings under the guise that these were necessary at the time and now belong to that past. That is totally unacceptable because the South African security forces had recourse to the courts of law and even to repressive apartheid legislation to contain any threats to the state. And this recourse the liberation movements did not have."

THE WEEKLY MAIL

National Party Wants To Decide for All—Ameen Akhalwaya asks in the "Politics" column on page 24 of Johannesburg **THE WEEKLY MAIL** in English for 22-28 May why President de Klerk "clings to the ball while proclaiming it should be shared by all the players on a levelled field. The answer is that not only does the NP [National Party] want to be player and referee, it also wants to be the scorekeeper with the power to declare that the winner is the loser." Akhalwaya believes Codesa II "proved again how much the ANC is prepared to concede so that South Africa can heal its deep wounds, so that it can have a liberal democratic constitution which would allow whites more power than their numbers, and much more say than they deserve. De Klerk reiterated that he was not after the entrenchment of minority rights, but he left unsaid something much more sinister—a white veto. In other words, the Nais are telling the majority: you can choose what you want, but we'll decide if it's good enough for you—and especially, for us. How long the patience of the majority will hold out, how much longer the ANC will be able to tell its increasingly impatient supporters that everything's on track to a democracy, is anybody's guess."

More Pressure To Force Government Flexibility—The page 26 editorial discusses the Codesa 2 deadlock, saying it has illustrated that the NP "has not yet come to terms with

the fact that democracy means that the majority rules." Now, "some are saying that Nelson Mandela should lead a walkout from Codesa and the ANC should mobilise its members on the streets and shopfloors to bring the matter to a head. Others are saying that he has no choice but to keep the talks going until an agreement is reached. More realistically, however, the ANC is likely to play both cards: put talks on the side-burner until the government shows

more flexibility and meanwhile begin mobilising mass protest action." Yet, there needs to be "enough pressure to drive home the demand for democracy, but not so much that the two sides are forced even further apart. If this is achieved, one can hope that when the two sides come together again, the government will have been forced to take those last few difficult steps towards accepting democracy and all its consequences."

Angola

UNITA Says MPLA Plans To Sabotage Pope's Visit

MB2305122392 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerl to Southern and Central Africa in Portuguese 0500 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] The government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA]-Labor Party is determined to sabotage Pope John Paul's visit to Angola during the first half of June. The Voice of the Resistance of the Black Cockerel [Vorgan] learned this today from a reliable source in Huila Province. According to the source, the Ministry of State Security-Directorate of Intelligence and Security of Angola [Minse-Disa], has planned a series of attempts against religious and traditional officials to take place a few hours before the Pope's arrival. The Minse-Disa's black list includes names like that of Father Joaquim de Caluquembe. In a message to the Angolan nation broadcast by Vorgan, Huambo Archbishop Don Francisco Viti asked all men of goodwill to do everything possible to accord the pope a warm welcome.

Botswana

President Returns From Tour of SADCC Countries

MB2205175592 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1610 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] The president, Sir Ketumile Masire, arrived this afternoon in Gaborone from Harare, Zimbabwe, at the end of a tour of some SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] countries.

The president was welcomed by the vice president and minister of finance and development planning, Mr. Festus Mogae, cabinet ministers, and other dignitaries.

Tomorrow Sir Ketumile will leave for Kasane, where he will have talks with President Sam Nujoma of Namibia, and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, on the question of Sedudu Island. The meeting, which will be held at the Chobe Lodge, will be held behind closed doors. The Department of External Affairs says the presidents will be taken to the island by boats on Sunday. The department says the presidents may also discuss other issues of mutual interest to the three countries.

The Botswana delegation will also include the minister for external affairs Dr. Gaositwe Chiepe, the minister of presidential affairs and public administration, Lieutenant General Mompoti Merafhe, and the commander of the Botswana Defense Force, Lieutenant General Ian Khama.

Masire, Nujoma Issue Communique After Talks

MB2405200092 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1910 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] The leaders of Botswana and Namibia have agreed on a joint team of six technical experts to investigate the boundary of Sedudu or Kasikile Island in terms of an 1890 Anglo-German treaty.

In a communique issued at the end of the two leaders' meeting, Sir Ketumile Masire and President Sam Nujoma of Namibia said the two countries will contribute three experts each to the team, which is expected to meet within three to four weeks.

The team shall submit its findings to both Sir Ketumile and Mr Nujoma, and President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who was mediating in today's talks at Kasane.

The presidents have agreed that the findings of the technical experts will be final and binding on Botswana and Namibia. The leaders agree that nothing should be done which is likely to compromise the good relations between the two countries.

Mozambique

Peace Negotiations Not To Resume Before June

LD2505214592 Lisbon RDP Comercial Radio Network in Portuguese 2100 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] The Mozambican peace talks will not resume until June. The Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] delegate in Portugal has said that the idea that the talks would resume in May has been abandoned. The 11th round of talks between the Maputo government and Renamo had been set for three different dates in May, but the talks kept being postponed. The Mozambican Government has not yet reacted to this latest postponement, but it believes it is related to the revision of the Constitution. Joao de Sousa reports:

[De Sousa] According to a diplomatic source, who was aware of the postponement, the government believes it is related to Renamo's need to carry out more detailed discussions in order to draw up an agenda for a possible discussion. It is not known whether the agenda will include discussions on military matters, as initially expected. There are those who believe, however, Renamo is preparing the groundwork to reintroduce to the negotiating table issues pertaining to the Constitution. Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama believes certain articles should be removed from the Constitution because they give the head of state dictatorial powers.

Armed Forces Foil Renamo Southern, Central Offensive

MB2205144992 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] A source in the General Staff has told the MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY [AIM] that the Mozambique Armed Forces [FAM] have foiled a Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] military offensive intended to strengthen its positions in central and southern Mozambique.

FAM's offensive in Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, and Sofala Provinces in April and May led to the destruction of Renamo's so-called Military Operations Coordination Center in Sofala Province's (Nhaxumbue) area. The camp was destroyed on 3 April.

In May, FAM stormed Renamo's so-called Maringue ministerial area, in Sofala Province.

The source added that Costa Massue, a former Renamo member captured by the FAM forces, has confirmed the attack on (Nhaxumbue). Costa Massue told AIM that the FAM killed 28 Renamo elements, including three so-called officers, during that raid.

Renamo Leader Denies Receiving Kenyan Support

*MB2205123692 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] The leader of the Mozambican Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement, Mr. Afonso Dhlakama, has rejected allegations that his movement is receiving financial and military support from the Kenyan Government.

Mr. Dhlakama said such allegations were part of a propaganda campaign orchestrated by the ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] party against his movement.

He said Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano knew very well what type of support Kenya provided for Renamo. He said such aid consisted of providing Renamo representatives with the necessary documentation for travel outside Mozambique.

Mr. Dhlakama said President Chissano had asked President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya to provide Renamo representatives with the necessary documentation for travel overseas.

Frelimo Reportedly Wins Renamo Mock Election

*MB2305134692 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1100 GMT 23 May 92*

[Telex Report by Sergio Ngoka on "Saturday Outlook" Program]

[Text] Mozambique's Constitution allows for multiparty elections, but it has been impossible to hold such elections because of the war situation. However, the multiparty secret ballot elections have already taken place in at least one part of Mozambique and the ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party won, much to the embarrassment of the organizers, as reports Sergio Ngoka in this telex from the MOZAMBIQUE NEWS AGENCY.

This was a mock election held by the Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels in a part of the southern Province of Gaza under their control. It was the rehearsal for the real thing which will take place (?after) a cease-fire.

People who escaped from Dindiza in eastern Gaza, interviewed by the MOZAMBIQUE NEWS AGENCY, said that Renamo held a mock election in early March. They told us not to be afraid and to vote freely, recalled 16-year-old Maria Mugabe who had been living under Renamo control for two years. She said that Renamo received instructions from white advisors who were in Dindiza and told them how to behave. She added that these white advisors stayed in Dindiza for almost two

weeks. She said she did not know the originality [as heard] of the advisors because they only spoke with the bandit chiefs.

Maria told the MOZAMBIQUE NEWS AGENCY that the voting in the elections was secret. We put our papers into the ballot boxes that Renamo organized for us, she said. Armando Tavaréz, a man in his fifties who had been kidnapped by Renamo in 1989 said that after we had finished voting, they [words indistinct] the papers and opened them. As they counted them, there just appeared the name of Frelimo, Frelimo. I don't know exactly how many votes Frelimo won, she added, because the youngster who was doing the count was later taken away by the bandits.

Frelimo won, confirms Antonio Machava, another man who escaped from Dindiza. He said that one of the bandits was so serious with the result that he opened fire on us and killed two people. This incident deepened Renamo's embarrassment. The trigger-happy bandit was publicly reprimanded in front of the voters. His superiors told us that he would be punished, said Mr. Machava. But afterward, we learned that this was just a lie.

A Renamo company commander Severiano Kumbé taken prisoner by the Mozambican army in April also confirmed to the MOZAMBIQUE NEWS AGENCY that mock elections had taken place in Dindiza and that Frelimo had won.

Namibia

Angola's Dos Santos Calls For More Cooperation

*MB2205151092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos is on the last hours of his visit to Namibia. He is scheduled to address the Namibian Parliament this morning. The Angolan head of state is then expected to hold separate meetings with the Angolan community in Windhoek and with Namibian businessmen to brief them on the situation in Angola.

The president and his delegation met their Namibian counterparts yesterday to exchange views on increasing bilateral cooperation. The two sides agreed that economic cooperation must feature prominently in bilateral relations, following the end of the liberation struggle.

[Begin dos Santos recording] The best way for us to attribute the correct value to all those efforts is to create well-being and happiness for our peoples. We agree with the distinguished president when he says we are in the second stage of the same struggle. Now we have to resolve serious economic problems in our countries as well as in our continent. My delegation has come to discuss with our Namibian counterparts ways to broaden bilateral cooperation and existing trade. I am convinced this visit will produce positive results which will further strengthen our friendship and broaden our cooperation. I agree with the areas the distinguished president has pointed to as priorities for us to launch our cooperation: transportation, communications, water, energy, fisheries, and so forth.

Those are areas that we are already working on but where we could do much more, even attracting support from the international community.

Although our visit is a brief one, our hope is that it will contribute toward ever increasing bilateral relations. May friendship between Namibia and Angola become stronger and stronger. Thank you. [end recording]

Addresses Parliament

MB2205162092 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 22 May 92

[Report by Radio Angola correspondent Alberto Sousa on speech by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to the Namibian Parliament in Windhoek on 22 May—passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] [Sousa] In Windhoek this morning, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola [RPA], once again accused the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] of continuing to hinder the Angolan peace process. In a (230-minute) speech [words indistinct] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said Jonas Savimbi's UNITA party has been showing it is finding it very difficult to adapt to the democratic game currently under way in Angola.

[Dos Santos] "(?Peace) has lately been presenting difficulties [word indistinct] the other signatory to the Angolan peace accords has not been cooperating with the desired willingness for the full implementation of those accords. Though UNITA has recognized has recognized the RPA Government, it has [words indistinct] the principle of extending state administration to UNITA-controlled areas under the terms of those accords. That organization has had difficulty [words indistinct] the extension of state control to a considerable portion of the areas it occupies, and by promoting intimidation, thereby showing they are finding it very tough to adapt to the democratic game under way in our country. (?I must add) that at this time the Angolan people are suffering the effects of a devastating war that went on for longer than 16 years. Now that peace has been attained, the people are not willing to continue making [word indistinct] sacrifices, and would rather use their energies rebuilding the country.

"Within that context, the RPA Government is committed to the serious and responsible implementation of the peace accords [words indistinct] their success. We are certain that the international community in general, and the United States of America, Russia, and Portugal—in their capacity as observers—in particular, will make every effort to discourage those who intend to return Angola to a situation of war."

[Sousa] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, who was addressing the Namibian Parliament this morning, also spoke about cooperation among the countries in southern Africa. In his opinion, such cooperation could be expanded once South Africa joins the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC] after apartheid has been abolished.

[Dos Santos] "We believe in efforts being made by the political parties, for the solution of political crisis. We are hopeful in the formation of a transitional government that will (?reflect) all interests and leanings, to lead South Africa to free and fair elections which will guarantee democracy for everyone, thereby opening the way for the use of that country's economic, scientific, and technical capabilities to help develop southern Africa, and Africa. Angola is strongly committed to that evolutionary process, and views with optimism the future of cooperation with all southern African countries. To that end, it relies on strengthened cooperation with Namibia, because it is sure that the results of that cooperation will serve our peoples' interests for the good of regional progress. The potential for bilateral relations, and relations within the framework of SADCC, is enormous. Fisheries, transportation, and energy [word indistinct] are among the areas with the better prospects for regional cooperation."

[Sousa] A cooperation accord in those sectors could be signed today, at the end of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos' visit to Namibia. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos is scheduled to hold a news conference at Namibian President Sam Nujoma's palace at 1410 before returning to Luanda.

Holds News Conference

MB2205202592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] President of the Republic Jose Eduardo dos Santos is already back in the country after a 24-hour visit to Namibia. At Windhoek Airport, the Angolan head of state considered the outcome of his visit, and granted a news conference:

[Begin Dos Santos recording] I would like to convey my satisfaction about the extremely productive and dynamic approach to the proceedings. Obviously, this allowed us to achieve extremely positive results for bilateral cooperation purposes. Some of those results have already been announced, and they show the two governments are really committed to finding practical ways to implement their plans to rebuild our countries, which suffered much and long because of the war. Today, our countries want to consolidate peace, and to create conditions for their people to be happy.

As journalists, you must be rather curious about what we have discussed with President Sam Nujoma since yesterday, in view of the fact that our talks were held in camera. The outcome of the ministers' work was announced here. Obviously, the ministers followed the guidelines issued by the two heads of state. I would like to point out, however, that we have discussed nothing special other than those issues that have long been a source of concern to the Angolan and Namibian Governments. Those issues are: peace, stability, and security along our common border. Furthermore, we also discussed the general situation in southern Africa, and we found there are positive indications for the establishment of peace and cooperation. We noted in particular that there has been

significant progress in negotiations involving the government and all political forces in South Africa, with a view to creating a transitional government that will lead to free and fair elections, and the establishment of a democracy that will benefit all the people in that country. We salute and praise the highly positive role played so far by Presidents de Klerk and Nelson Mandela. We fully believe those two men will continue to give of their best for a new era to begin in South Africa, thereby allowing the emergence of a new era of peace and stability throughout southern Africa. All countries in this region will then be able to seek ways to exploit their immense resources.

We are concerned about the continuing war in Mozambique. Talks between the Republic of Mozambique Government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] have been making slow progress, so the war continues to cause many victims, and much damage. Naturally, we have called on all peace- and freedom-loving forces in general, and the superpowers in particular, to exert their influence for Mozambique to have peace as soon as possible, thereby allowing the Mozambicans to enjoy peace, which is a fundamental condition for development, much in the same way as the Angolans, Namibians, Zambians, and other people in southern Africa.

We discussed our bilateral relations, and found them to be excellent. We also discussed bilateral economic relations, and found there has been significant progress in the implementation of joint projects, and in the development of trade. We are creating conditions for customs, banking, and transportation services to function on a normal and regular basis along the common border, thereby allowing bilateral trade to increase. In that way, we will be able to satisfy the needs of both sides.

This visit was a positive one for us. It fully satisfied our expectations. We would like to convey our sincere thanks to President Sam Nujoma for granting us a pleasant stay, and good working conditions, which allowed the two heads of state, and the accompanying ministers to do constructive work that will help consolidate traditional friendship and cooperation ties between the peoples of Angola and Namibia. [end recording]

Further Report

*MB2305133792 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 23 May 92*

[Report on news conference by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos at the end of his visit to Namibia on 22 May; passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] President Jose Eduardo dos Santos said at the end of his visit to Namibia yesterday that the shortage of material and (other) resources constituted a serious obstacle to the holding of elections in September. Addressing a news conference, the Angolan head of state mentioned some of the concerns.

[Dos Santos] "There is a shortage of sufficient financial and material resources to have technical conditions for the holding of elections throughout the national territory. Obviously, we are counting on the mobilization that you gentlemen of the press will mount so that the international community can truly contribute toward helping the Angolan people overcome existing problems.

"There are other problems that are being created by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. The principal problem is the delay that is being observed in the extension of the central state administration to areas under UNITA control. Without the establishment of administrative services in all districts and communes which were under UNITA occupation during the war, we cannot register voters. This being the case, a large number of our population may not vote."

Jose Eduardo dos Santos also said that there is major intimidation campaign mounted by UNITA to prevent people from taking part in the electoral process en masse. The Angolan head of state also announced that a process has begun to monitor areas where 20,000 troops belonging to the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] are presumably deployed, ready to intervene if UNITA loses the elections.

[Dos Santos] "UNITA is mounting a campaign of intimidation and terror to instill fear to prevent a large part of voters from participating in the elections. It is in this context, that a number of UNITA dissidents have been denouncing Mr. Savimbi's intention to once again take up arms and wage war if he loses the elections. Consequently, he has been keeping a large number of troops in certain areas which are unknown to us. Aware of its responsibilities, the Angolan Government has requested the UN Monitoring Group to carry out a program aimed at monitoring and detecting all areas pointed out as possible deployment areas by FALA troops. This work is currently under way.

"It is worth noting that we have been observing irregular movements of UNITA forces and the Bicesse Accords stipulate that there can be no movement of troops without beforehand informing the other party, (within the framework of the monitoring system)."

Answering a question from a journalist, the president of the Republic said that there is information indicating the existence of UNITA's arms caches somewhere in southern Angola.

[Dos Santos] "It has been denounced even by the press that there are so many goods that are being transported to southeastern Angola [word indistinct] Namibia which do not conform with the known number of residents there. Through the means that we possess and through the UN monitoring teams, we cannot fail to uncover concrete facts concerning the transportation of weapons. We have information, including that obtained from UNITA dissidents,

on arms caches and troop deployment. Accordingly, we are currently investigating this."

During the news conference, the head of state also said that his government is adopting measures aimed at guaranteeing the training of Angolan Armed Forces before the September elections.

[Dos Santos] "We are able to resolve many of the important tasks and make up for some of the time lost. We can guarantee the establishment of the Angolan Armed Forces before September. Therefore, the government is using all measures at its disposal to guarantee the formation of a single national army by September, to prevent the existence of three armies when the official electoral campaign begins."

President Dos Santos also said that Angolans living in Namibia interested in taking part in September elections, should come to the country to register so that they can vote.

[Dos Santos] "Angolans who are in Namibia, particularly in the northern region, can register in Angola, in the nearest province, and take part in the forthcoming elections, just like all other citizens. This is the surest way of allowing their participation in the elections, inasmuch as the law stipulates that Angolans who are abroad can only vote in areas where the United Nations can establish a monitoring system. Well, we do not yet have guarantees that the United Nations will be able to establish this monitoring system in all foreign countries where Angolans live."

Germany To Give 70 Million Rand in Grant Aid

*MB2205120792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1041 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] Windhoek May 22 SAPA—Germany is to give Namibia about R[and]70 million in grant aid during 1992, according to a joint release issued in Windhoek on Friday.

Namibian and German officials held their third round of annual consultations in Windhoek this week to review current projects and examine proposals for future cooperation.

Germany has contributed about R240 million to Namibia under its economic cooperation programme since independence in 1990.

About R50 million of the allocation for 1992 will be for low cost housing, a rural water supply pilot programme in communal areas, a revolving fund for small-scale business and the trans-Caprivi highway under construction in northern Namibia.

An amount of about R17 million will go on technical cooperation programmes in sectors including water affairs, agriculture and marine resources and legal assistance.

The agreed minutes on the consultations were signed by the director-general of Namibia's National Planning Commission, Dr Z. Ngavirue, and the head of the southern african division in the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation, Dr R. Barthelt.

Swaziland

Seven Youths Claiming ANC Membership Detained

*MB2205154192 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1411 GMT 22 May 92*

[Text] Mbabane May 22 SAPA—Seven young South Africans claiming to be members of the African National Congress [ANC] on their way to Zambia to undergo military training are being held in custody by Swaziland police in Mbabane.

The seven, who arrived this week and have been charged with illegal entry into Swaziland, have told the Mbabane magistrate's court they come from Nelspruit in the eastern Transvaal.

A police spokesman confirmed the group would be held in custody until the Swaziland authorities had discussed the matter with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the ANC in South Africa.

—The latest arrivals bring to 54 the total of young South Africans who have entered Swaziland illegally over the past three weeks.

All of them claimed to have been recruited by the ANC to undergo military training in Zambia and Tanzania. The ANC has denied the claims.

A group of 47, from Durban, were repatriated to South Africa this week.

An ANC delegation from Johannesburg had earlier visited the youths at Big Bend prison and convinced them that the ANC was no longer recruiting armed cadres nor conducting military training at camps anywhere.

Three other young South Africans, one female and two male students, who applied for political asylum on Wednesday after entering Swaziland illegally from kaNgwane, are still in custody in Mbabane awaiting the result of their applications.

Zambia

Foreign Minister Rejects Reports on ANC Training

MB2305182492 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga has disassociated the Zambian Government from Swaziland

reports that a third group of South African youths claiming to be ANC [African National Congress] members arrested in Swaziland were in transit to Zambia for military training.

Reacting to reports from Swazi police, Mr. Mwaanga said there was no truth in the report, adding that the government has not received any representation from the African National Congress and from the South African Government. Mr. Mwaanga said since the Conference on the Democratization of South Africa [as heard], Codesa, started in that country, the Zambian Government has been supportive. He said the new era tries to replace the era of military confrontation, and Zambia is determined to continue supporting the democratic process in South Africa.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe, Masire Hold Talks on Economic Integration
MB2305132292 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English
1100 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Botswana President Sir Ketumile Masire has held talks with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe in Harare on economic integration in southern Africa and political developments in South Africa. President Masire said they had also discussed the stand the Southern African Development Coordination Conference would take toward South Africa during its transition to democracy. He gave no details but said saying that he hoped the country would be democratic within a year or two. The two presidents also discussed efforts to alleviate the effects of the drought in southern Africa.

Nigeria

Babangida Addresses Nation on Current Situation

AB2505213092 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1804 GMT 25 May 92

[Address to the nation by President Ibrahim Babangida on 25 May; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Fellow Nigerians, today I speak to you with a heavy heart, heavy heart over the recent acts of violence that have beset our beloved country. These acts have left our citizens deeply worried and concerned. Our hearts go out in compassion to all those who lost their beloved ones—fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and children in these senseless and wanton acts of destruction. It is sad and painful that we should subject ourselves to this level of violence at a time when we should emphasize the positive things that help to grow as a nation.

In our situation today, this administration is faced with just two options: one is to throw in the towel and jettison our far-reaching reform programs that are targeted at making our country a great nation, respected on the African continent and within the international community. The alternative is to battle on, fortified in the knowledge that all great nations in modern history [words indistinct] rather, it has taken them many years of hard work and learning from their mistakes. But for the Armed Forces Ruling Council [AFRC] and indeed, the Armed Forces of Nigeria, that option is unthinkable. I believe most Nigerian nationalists and patriots seem strongly to support the policies and programs of this administration. We have therefore resolved to [words indistinct], fortified of our belief in a greater and better tomorrow.

As you are aware, the AFRC met to consult and review the happenings in our country in the last few months. It deliberated on the communal and industrial unrest, the student crisis, and the general and even [word indistinct] over the economy. After fruitful deliberations, the following decisions were arrived at:

1. To continue to protect and defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nigeria;
2. To protect the lives and property of all Nigerians;
3. To defend the integrity of the transition program at all costs;
4. To crack down on all persons, associations, and groups that seek to either derail the transition program or destabilize the nation;
5. To carry out appropriate changes in the machinery of government in order to overcome observed lapses;
6. To set up a tribunal to immediately try all suspect involved in the communal disturbances in Kaduna State;
7. Government will immediately compensate all victims of the Zangon Kataf disturbance, including their resettlement;

8. Government will immediately implement the decisions reached at the dialogue of the economic situation for the Nigerian Labor Congress;

9. Henceforth, all incidences of [words indistinct] will be dealt with, using all means including the use of emergency powers.

As would be expected, the AFRC has also mapped out appropriate strategies to deal with threats to the peace and well-being of our nation. Henceforth, all commanders have been given the appropriate orders to deal effectively with situations which could or may threaten the stability of our nation.

Furthermore, the call up time for intervention of the Armed Forces for civil actions has been shortened so that they can immediately deal with any situation.

Finally, the AFRC is of the view that the present situation of urban and communal unrest provides the perfect rationale for the establishment of the National Guard. It therefore reconfirms its commitment to establish the program immediately in order to reduce the disability of the Armed Forces.

Fellow Nigerians, at the inception of this administration seven years ago, we committed ourselves to building a strong, united, and viable nation, for the (?sake) of our lives and the benefit of posterity. We dedicated ourselves to solving our economic problems by working to increase our domestic production, rather than depending on the importation of consumer goods and raw materials for our industries. We also undertook to give a growing [word indistinct] to the dynamism of private enterprise in our economy by a commensurate production in the dominance of the public sector. During this period, we have consistently addressed the structural [word indistinct] and the political economy of the nation.

We started this historic journey, conscious of the inherited burden we had to shoulder and of the tortuous and delicate path ahead of us. We are determined to negotiate such a path in order to reach our destination. On our part, we knew that this would require (?deep navigation) skills. Even though we could never be too sure of the nature of the [word indistinct] both man-made and natural, we knew, fellow Nigerians, that some of us will get (?weary) on the way. Some may even lose their self-confidence and some others will like us to give up and return to our point of departure. But we never (?withered), neither did we doubt the resolve of the vast majority of our people. Our destination, in concrete terms, is military disengagement and the return to democratic civilian rule, as well as the modernization of Nigeria into a private enterprise, free market economy.

We are firmly committed to this and have [word indistinct] relentlessly, vigorously, and with a sense of historical purpose and mission. I made it quite clear that a program of transition such as we have been [word indistinct] and in the light of our own peculiar historical experience and inherited economic crisis, will require tough and difficult

decisions. Such decisions are necessary in order to consolidate the democratization process and to put in place the appropriate social [word indistinct] and economic environment. Yet, the truth must be told. Much of the apparent economic impasse and the concomitant social political malaise [words indistinct] for the accumulated effects of the wrong policies of the past and non-implementation. It is also due to sinister efforts of political (?snipers) first and primarily motivated by selfish political interests, who are committed to discrediting the military out of office. They have been engaged in political campaigns and political resolutions which tended to trivialize various national issues as well as undermining the very basis of our federation. I am aware that it might take some time before the positive effects of painful but inevitable and necessary policies mature and become manifest. To be sure, these are familiar problems of all transitions and national development. They are problems which anti-democratic forces, sometimes, with the active support from external forces, are [word indistinct] to exploit. Luckily, Nigerians are too politically wise to fall easily prey to such selfish and anti-national forces of retrogression.

Fellow Nigerians, we must together, as we have done (?in the past seven years), resist attempts in these temporary hard times, to sow seeds of discord and hatred among the good, tolerant, and God-fearing people of this great and blessed country. Our national strength depends a good deal on the degree of our dependence on imported goods and services. Our objective is to pursue consistently self-reliance policies so that we can rely less and less on foreign imported goods and services. This process will also make it possible for Nigerians to spend as much on our own domestically produced goods and services, in a growing industry and competitive international market. In essence, this is the (?crux) of the economic policies of this administration and of the liberalization measures we have so far taken. We must not lose our nerves, neither must we, in exercising our fundamental rights to protest, wreck havoc on our national [words indistinct] of progress so far made. I plead with you to eschew bitterness and those things which divide us. Our differences must be our strength. And given our cultural, economic, political, and social (?focuses), our vitality and vibrance should be channeled to constructive and [word indistinct] nation building task.

The strength of our federalism has always derived from the [word indistinct] metaphor of unity in diversity. We must continue to be tolerant of one another's ethnic, religious, historical, linguistic, and social background. This administration will not be hurried out of office. Neither shall we be bullied through illegal actions to abandon the path of planned economic and political progress. I do know also that there are genuine problems. Such problems do exist in the process of development and they cannot and, indeed, should not be [word indistinct]. However, they cannot be solved through unnecessary confrontations and mindless (?courage) which only tend to debase our values as well as dehumanize us. (?Rather), we should come together, in a fraternal spirit, to find ways of solving them. We have, on various occasions, sought to do this precisely. We have benefited from advice from various quarters and have

from time to time reflected such advice in our policies and programs. The avenues that we have opened for such inputs are many. They shall remain open and accessible. If there are any persons or groups who are in doubt about the need for the policy measures which we have put in place or [words indistinct] which they have availed for our future, let them speak, but let them speak lawfully. This administration has provided adequate machinery for those different views and opinions to locally seek hearing and redress. There are electoral tribunals, there are public complaints commissions, code of conduct tribunals, labor arbitration panels, industrial courts, and indeed various levels of our courts of law. There is no need, in fact no one should feel under pressure to use extra-legal means to advance his or her views. Government will therefore deal with people or groups who foment trouble in order to destabilize our transition to civil rule program, and above all, threaten the security and stability of our country.

I cannot end this address without paying tribute to officers and soldiers of the Armed Forces and the police. They have once again shown their commitment to the preservation of the integrity and unity of the nation. They have demonstrated, as expected of them, their loyalty to their sacred call to duty. I urge you and other security agencies to continue to be mindful of their (?custodian laws) and their full allegiance to protect the lives and property of all Nigerians.

Fellow Nigerians, we have traveled a long way. We are so near our destination. But we must resist all temptations that seek to divert us from our objectives. These are times which call for increased vigilance and [word indistinct] perseverance as we brace ourselves to negotiate the last few treacherous and slippery approaches to our destination. Let me reassure you that we are fully in control and we shall (?get to) our destination, safe and sound, by the grace of Allah. I urge you, dear countrymen, not to develop [words indistinct]. We are a people of solid nerves and we are proud, hardworking, and appreciating people. Fellow patriots, the future is already part of our today. It is [words indistinct].

We have a sacred and historic mission [words indistinct] into hatred and chaos. We have worked together carefully and the dawn of our tomorrow is just around the corner. We should not sit back and allow the promise of a great tomorrow to slip out of our hands. I assure you that these are also exciting times, full of challenges and opportunities. These are times which demand enterprise and innovation. We must not be stampeded into missing these opportunities or cowed by the challenges.

I assure you of our firm [word indistinct], determination and control of the processes leading to the hand over date. I invite you to see this administration as a midwife nominated by providence to handle the historic event of delivering the new Nigerian nation. I appeal to all Nigerians for understanding, sympathy, cooperation, and support. Those who have neither [word indistinct] nor time, nor material resources to contribute, can still offer their good wishes, their loyalty, their patriotism, and their prayer. At the same time, I hereby express our gratitude to

those individuals who had the courage to either speak openly or work behind the scene, in order to bring about peace and stability.

Finally, I appeal to the Armed Forces to play [words indistinct] and action, the fact that this military administration had promised a new and modern Nigeria. This is an historic duty we in uniform have to fulfill to the letter. I thank you.

AFRC Discusses Disturbances; Babangida Comments

AB2205190592 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1800 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] A high-powered tribunal will be appointed by the Federal Government to try all persons involved in the recent disturbances in some parts of the country.

President Ibrahim Babangida announced this at the end of a six-hour meeting of the Armed Forces Ruling Council, AFRC, in Abuja today. He said that anyone found guilty of taking part in the riots will receive severe penalties.

General Babangida disclosed that the AFRC resolved to apply all necessary measures to protect the life and property of innocent citizens. He added that the AFRC also resolved to [word indistinct] the remaining part of the transition program and resist the forces of instability.

Chief of Staff Bans Politicians From Barracks

AB2305070092 Lagos NEW NIGERIAN in English 12 May 92 pp 1, 5

[Ita Akuru article: "Politicians Barred From Barracks"]

[Excerpt] No politician is allowed to visit any military barracks in the country to directly or indirectly lobby for votes, though soldiers and their families are expected to exercise their voting rights in various elections, the Chief of Army Staff, Lt. General Salihu Ibrahim has warned.

To this end, soldiers are to report any case of violation of the directive to their immediate superiors for appropriate action. The Chief of Army Staff gave the warning yesterday [11 May] in Lagos while addressing troops of the 9

Mechanized Brigade at Ikeja Military Cantonment in continuation of his tour of army projects in the country.

The warning may have become very necessary as the Vice President, Admiral Augustus Aikhomu, announced over the weekend in Abuja that some naval officers were being tried for allegedly training political thugs for politicians at the Naval Logistics Training Base in Owerri Nta, Imo State.

General Ibrahim also urged soldiers to disregard the rumor that there was an attempted coup and that some military officers had been tried and executed secretly.

According to him, there was no basis for such rumour, and therefore urged the troops to continue with their normal business without fear. [passage omitted]

Navy Unaware of Arrest, Trial of Personnel

AB2305072092 Lagos DAILY CHAMPION in English 13 May 92 p 10

[Effiong Usoro article: "Navy Refutes Report"]

[Text] Authorities of the Nigerian Navy, Lagos, have claimed ignorance over the arrest and trial of some naval personnel for allegedly training thugs at the naval base, Owerri, Imo State.

The revelation was in reaction to the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) allegations that some military officers were being tried secretly in the country. But in an interview with the DAILY CHAMPION in his office, the director of naval information corps Navy Commander Femi Pearse said his department was yet to be furnished with the details over the arrest and subsequent trial of the said naval personnel.

Commander Pearse declined further comments on the issue saying that he heard of it the first time on radio last week and maintained that only the Vice-President could elaborate on the issue.

Speculations on the arrest and trial of top military personnel were earlier linked to their purported involvement in an alleged coup d'etat which the military authorities denied and dismissed as unfounded.

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